A COMPARISON OF THE BIBLICAL AND NATIVE AMERICAN VIEWS OF THE HUMAN RELATIONSHIP WITH NATURE

A dissertation by
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presented to
The Faculty of the
Graduate Theological Union
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Berkeley, California
June 1979

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to compare and contrast the Biblical with some native American views of the human relationship with nature. The native American views described are those of the Pueblo culture area, concentrating on the Hopi, and the Plains area, concentrating on the Sioux and Cheyennes. There are both similarities and differences between the Biblical and native American traditions. The native American views are presented in Chapter One and the Biblical view in Chapter Two. These are compared in Chapter Three.

I do not know of any other work that has in a scholarly manner compared and contrasted these two traditions' views of the human relationship to nature. The only book I am aware of that examines both religions seriously with an insider's understanding of each is Vine Deloria's God Is Red.[1] Deloria, however, compares the whole religions, not just the aspect of the human relationship to nature. His main thrust is that native American thinking in terms of space is superior to Judaeo-Christian thinking in terms of linear time, that is, geography versus history. A shortcoming of his book is that he contrasts the best of native American religion with the worst of Western

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[1] Vine Deloria, Jr. (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1973).

Christianity.

In contrast, I do not evaluate either religious tradition but rather attempt to present them both sympathetically. I acknowledge but do not discuss the Biblical view of history, which is outside my subject. I also limit myself to the Biblical tradition, not examining post-Biblical Western attitudes and actions toward nature. To examine that whole heterogeneous tradition would be a much larger study. For the Biblical analysis I use primarily the Bible itself, in conjunction with the insights of contemporary Biblical and theological scholars.

The approaches used to ascertain the Biblical and the American Indian views of the human relationship with nature differ in one particular respect. The Biblical chapter deals with the Bible as a text. The Indian chapter deals with descriptions and interpretations of behavior, including particularly ceremonies. However, this difference is required by the nature of the subjects. The religion of Biblical people can only be studied as a text because the Bible is the one canonized, authoritative description of the people therein described. Historical criticism does allow us, of course, within some measure to reconstruct the actual life out of which the text comes. American Indian religions, on the other hand, do not have a canonized scripture. The languages of their adherents were not written. What has been written has been written by anthropologists and others observing ceremonies, other behavior patterns, symbolism, and mythology, and talking with the adherents, and sometimes by the adherents themselves. But here another difference is notable. Biblical religion is open. It has no secrets. New Testament religion seeks converts by proclaiming its message, and Old Testament religion accepts proselytes, even if it is primarily tribal in nature. On the other hand, the power of native American religion is lost when its secrets are laid open. Although the religions have to a considerable extent been laid open, the many tribal traditions nevertheless have not been conducive to being unified into one authoritative and descriptive text such as the Bible both because of their secret nature and because of their non-literary heritage. An analysis of them necessarily rests primarily on descriptions of behavior, both ceremonial and other, as the manifestation of the underlying theology.

The use of the sources for the two traditions therefore differs between, on the one hand, a canonized scripture that has been subjected to extensive theological analysis and, on the other hand, descriptions of religious and other behavior that make mostly implicit rather than explicit theological statements. In either case I examine the sources and synthesize them into a shape that emerges from the subject. The shapes that emerge are not parallel so that they can be described and compared item for item.

However, similarities and differences do emerge.

The term "nature" as used here refers to the physical universe. It does not exclude technology, as technology is a way in which people relate to nature. Technology in the modern sense of theoretical science applied to practical science, industrial arts, manufacture, and building did not exist in the ancient world or in native American culture. Technology did exist in both cultures in the sense of occupations, crafts, and skills that produce changes and more orderly accessibility to things people need. Through technology people create novelty and order in nature and the means to control nature.

CHAPTER I

THE NATIVE AMERICAN VIEW OF THE HUMAN RELATIONSHIP TO NATURE

Introduction

The first chapter sets forth the native American view of the human relationship to nature as exemplified by the Plains and Pueblo Indians. It is difficult to generalize about Indian tribes, but despite cultural differences there are underlying similarities between the Plains and Pueblo, two areas of quite different cultural persuasion. These two culture areas are compared with each other in the basic statements about American Indian common world views. Ideas are developed by examining their implicit theology of nature as found in ceremonies, behavior patterns, symbolism, and mythology, as well as explicit theological statements. The sources are ethnologists, theologians, and religiously knowledgeable native Americans.

A basic theme of this chapter is that the natural world manifests the reality of the spiritual world, in which Mother Earth, animals, plants, and other natural phenomena are spiritual and are relatives to human beings in the universal harmony of the whole of being. Another basic theme is that people can make contact with and influence the spirits through visions and ceremonies and thus maintain the harmony of nature. These basic themes emerged from an investigation of what Plains and Pueblo Indians do in fact say.

This study is not a current sociological study. The Hopi culture as examined here is a traditional culture. Brandt's field work on Hopi ethics was carried out in 1948-49. The other descriptions of Hopi life were mainly collected before 1930. Powell's research on northern Cheyenne religion was done in the late 1950's and early 1960's.

The Reality of the Spiritual World

Earth as Mother

Mother Earth as a deity

The Earth, who is one of the spirits, is thought of as Mother or Grandmother by the Cheyennes and Sioux.

The Cheyennes invoke the Earth, "Our Grandmother," along with the Below Persons, who live with her. They supplicate her to continue

> to make everything grow which we eat, so that we may live; to make the water flow, that we may drink; to keep the ground firm, that we may live and walk on it; to make grow those plants and herbs that we use to heal ourselves when we are sick; and to cause to grow also the grass on which the animals feed.[1]

The Earth is to be propitiated by offerings and reverence[2] even though this sacred Person is beneficent.[3]

Offerings are made to the Earth in the Cheyenne massaum ceremony. The earth is

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[1] George Bird Grinnell, The Cheyenne Indians: Their History and Ways of Life, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923), 2:89.

[2] Ibid., p. 286. [3] Ibid., pp. 297-98.

> the obvious source of subsistence. . . . The earth supports us, produces food for the animals on whose flesh we depend, and also the berries and the roots which we eat. Out of and over it flows the water we drink. Above all things, therefore, the earth is to be propitiated. The powers through whom the earth continues to exist and who live within it must receive reverence and sacrifice.[1]

The significance of the soil of Grandmother Earth for the Cheyennes is incorporated in the sacred arrow ceremony, as performed on July 13 and 14, 1960, when Magpie, the instructor, clears the grass and "smoothes the bare earth in a circle, making the sacred Earth drawing. Then he rubs his hands together and rubs the earth over his head. He has brought the blessing of Grandmother Earth upon himself, strengthening him for the work ahead."[2]

The Earth's sanctity and beneficence are demonstrated in a speech Bobtail Horse gave on the third day of the Cheyenne massaum ceremony:

> The earth is sacred and must not be disturbed, injured, or interfered with. The one who taught us this ceremony dug this hole to show us that we must not be afraid of the earth and that we may live on it without fear of harm. We believe that the earth will protect us as it supports us.[3]

The Sioux concept of Earth as Mother is similar to the Cheyenne.

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[1] Ibid., p. 286.

[2] Peter J. Powell, Sweet Medicine: The Continuing Role of the Sacred Arrows, the Sun Dance, and the Sacred Buffalo Hat in Northern Cheyenne History, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 2:503.

[3] Grinnell, 2:297-98.

In the Oglala Sioux hunkapi rite, the making of relatives, a prayer to Grandmother Earth says:

> You have made a relationship with us, by bringing to us our sacred pipe. The two-leggeds, the four-leggeds, the wingeds, and all that move upon You and Your children. With all beings and all things we shall be as relatives; just as we are related to You, O Mother , so shall we make peace with another people and shall be related to them.[1]

Black Elk, an Oglala Sioux holy man, explains why the Earth is sacred:

> Upon Her we place our feet, and from Her we send our voices to Wakan-Tanka. She is a relative of ours, and this we should always remember when we call Her "Grandmother" or "Mother." When we pray we raise our hand to the heavens, and afterwards we touch the earth, for is not our Spirit from Wakan-Tanka, and are not our bodies from the earth? We are related to all things: the earth and stars, everything, and with all these together we raise our hand to Wakan-Tanka and pray to Him alone.[2]

There is a familial relationship between Wakan-Tanka, the Earth, and all her inhabitants. Black Elk says, "[The story of my life] is the story of all life that is holy and is good to tell, and of us two-leggeds sharing in it with the four-leggeds and the wings of the air and all green things: for these are children of one mother and their father is one Spirit."[1]

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[1] Black Elk, The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux, ed. Joseph Epes Brown, The Civilization of the American Indian, vol. 36 (Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc., 1971), p. 105. It seems that the Oglala recognized their relationship to all parts of nature except other tribes, for which the hunkapi ceremony could be used to create a relationship.

[2] Ibid., p. 72.

In his explanation of the sacredness of the pipe, Black Elk shows further the familial relationship that exists in the world:

> But these four spirits of the four quarters of the universe are only one Spirit after all, and this eagle feather here is for that One, which is like a father, and also it is for the thoughts of men that should rise high as eagles do. Is not the sky a father and the earth a mother; and are not all living things with feet or wings or roots their children? And this hide from the mouthpiece here, which should be bison hide, is for the earth, from whence we came and at whose breast we suck as babies all our lives, along with all the animals and birds and trees and grasses. And because it means all this, and more than any man can understand, the pipe is holy.[2]

Walker defines the Oglala concept of Earth as:

> a material God, whose substance is always visible. She ranks third of the Superior Gods, though she existed next after the first in existence. She is most often addressed as the All-mother, for She is an ancestor of all material things, except the Rock. Her domain is the world, and She is the patron of all things that grow from the ground, of drink and food, and the tipi. Her potency may be imparted to anything that has grown from the ground.[3]

Non-Hopi Pueblos have an Earth Mother, but the Hopi have earth spirits called Child-medicine Woman and Earth

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[1] Idem, Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux, ed. John G. Neihardt (Flaming Rainbow) (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, A Bison Book, 1961), p. 1.

[2] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[3] J. R. Walker, "The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton-Dakota," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 16, pt. 2 (1917), p. 82.

Altar Young Woman.[1] Contemporary Hopi, however, speak of Mother Earth. Only Hopi of all the pueblos have Masauwü, god of fire and war, first denizen of Hopiland.[2] Among the Keres Pueblos, Iyatiku, the maize mother, has the paramount position Masauwü has among the Hopi.[3] Iyatiku has the attributes of an Earth Mother, but Earth is referred to in prayer as a separable supernatural at Acoma, Sia, and Zuni pueblos; and, among Hopi and Tiwa, Earth or Child-Medicine Woman, or Sand Alter Woman, is the mother of game.[4] Hopi also call her Childbirth or Child-Water Woman. Child-Water Woman sends women their children.[5]

Relating to the inside of the Earth

The mothering relationship of the Earth to human beings is symbolized by the underground kiva and the sipapu[6] in the Southwest and by the pit altar dug into the earth, representing the navel of the Earth, in the Plains sweat lodge.[7] Black Elk prays to the Earth:

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[1] Elsie Clews Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, 2 vols. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939), chart between pp. 208-9 and pp. 963-64.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 182. [4] Ibid., pp. 182-3. [5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., 1:309.

[7] Black Elk, Sacred Pipe, pp. 33-34. Also Joseph Epes Brown, The Spiritual Legacy of the American Indian, Pendle Hill Pamphlet, no. 135 (Lebanon, Pa.: Sowers Printing Company, 1964), p. 23. Brown uses the term "navel," in which the Great Spirit dwells. Black Elk calls it "the center of the universe, in which dwells Wakan-Tanka," (Sacred Pipe, p. 32).

> We have come from You, we are a part of You, and we know that our bodies will return to You at that time when our spirits travel upon the great path. By fixing this center in the earth, I remember You to whom my body will return, but above all I think of Wakan-Tanka, with whom our spirits become as one.[1]

These efforts to relate to the womb of the Earth by getting inside it stand in contrast to the European efforts to reach to the heavens in the Gothic cathedral.

After death the Hopi go to a place below the ground. On the third day after death an eagle breath-feather, or "road," is placed on the ground west of the grave with its string pointing westward. A line of meal continues the road westward. The breath-body, or soul (hikvsi) of the dead person, is believed to ascend from the grave early on the fourth morning, partake of the soul (hikvsi) of the food-offerings, and travel along the road to the skeleton house (masski). Voth[2] does not make clear that the skeleton house is below rather than to the west, but Fewkes[3] designates the under world[4] as the dwelling place of the dead, who enter it through a sipapu, often spoken of as a lake. Fewkes adds that he has not detected any differentiation of the under world into separate regions for the blessed and damned. Fewkes also says that the under world was the home of the breath-body before it was embodied.[1] The breath-bodies, as the cultus of the dead, engage in the under world in the same pursuits they followed on earth. Much the same rites are performed as in the upper world,[2] but the seasons are reversed. The religious observances of the two worlds are synchronous.[3] The details of continued existence after death may be vague and vary in the different traditions, clans, and villages. Schoolcraft[4] reports a belief of the Hopi that at death they would be changed into animals, plants, or things. This is not the prevailing belief. The breath-body of a deceased uninitiated child hovers over the house of its parents until it is reincarnated in the next child that is born in that family. If no other child is born, the mother takes the soul along with her to the under world.[5]

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[1] Black Elk, Sacred Pipe, p. 34.

[2] Henry R. Voth, Field Columbian Museum, Anthropological Series, vol. 11, no. 2, p. 103.

[3] J. Walter Fewkes, Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology, vol. 15 (Washington), p. 258.

[4] Masski or "skeleton house."

The Cheyennes, however, travel along the Milky Way to the sky and live with Heammawihio.[6]

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[1] J. Walter Fewkes, American-Anthropologist 9:161-62.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Fewkes, Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington), 15:258.

[4] Henry R. Schoolcraft, Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, 6 vols. (Philadelphia, 1854-57), vol. 4 (1854), p. 86.

[5] Henry R. Voth, Field Columbian Museum, Anthropological Series, vol. 11, no. 2, p. 103.

[6] Grinnell, 2:91.

Hopi spiritual center

The Hopi regard their part of the Mother Earth, their homeland in the Southwest, as the spiritual center of the continent. They consider themselves a chosen people, comparable to the way the Hebrews considered themselves a chosen people. Hopi legend says the various clans journeyed to the four corners of the hemisphere, following divine instructions, and then returned to the spiritual center.[1] Some of them still remain true to the way of life taught them by Masauwü so that they can preserve the land for all people.

At a meeting at Hoteville in 1956 Andrew Hermequaftewa, a traditional Hopi, gave his account of how the Hopi got their land, receiving permission from Masauwü to live at their present home on the fourth world:[2]

> We came to this land only after receiving permission from our Great Spirit, Massau'u. He was living on the land with the Keeper of the Fire, who is the Spider Woman, and the two grandsons or nephews who are guardians for the Life Plan of this Great Spirit.
>
> When we approached them for permission to live on the great land we were told, "It is up to you. If you want to live My humble life, never doubting it and never losing faith in it, I will be happy to have you come and live with Me." We made a sacred oath that early day to follow His Life Plan, to live with Him in righteousness on His land, to remember our past on the third world where the Life Stream became so corrupt that it was destroyed. Many people claim it was their ancestors who obtained this

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[1] Frank Waters, Book of the Hopi (New York: Ballantine Books, An Intext Publisher, 1963).

[2] This account is in substantial agreement with a longer account in Waters, Book of the Hopi (New York: Ballantine Books, An Intext Publisher, 1963), p. 3-28.

> permission from the Great Spirit. . . .
>
> . . . He [Masauwü] appointed one group and during the night He set up the altar which represents all land and life, all living things on this earth. The Great Spirit gave to this group the responsibility of being the keepers of this symbol of power and authority. He placed this altar in the hands of the leaders and spoke to them saying, "I have given you this land, life, and religion. Take this altar and be very careful that you *never* lose this Life Plan that I gave to you. Take care of your children. Lead them on the right road to good health and a long life. Let your children live to a ripe old age without sickness, without trouble. Let there be plenty of food. Let there be plenty of rain. And work the way I have worked this land. Never fight against your own people. Never let your people go across the water into other lands to harm people. You must stay within this area and uphold this sacred emblem which represents all land and life until I come again to be your leader." . . .[1]

Then the Spider Woman, being a very intelligent person, again cautioned us to be on guard, to never let go of the Life Pattern given to us by the Great Spirit. "He has placed in your hands life, land, and everything in this earth. If ever you let go of it you will cause all your people to suffer a great punishment. You yourselves will suffer. So remain fast to these instructions so that you will not bring yourselves to this sad end," she said.

After all the different groups of peoples were given their different foods and different languages and different ways of worshipping, they were told to go in different directions in order to cover this continent. This is how the Indian people have settled on this land. This is how the land was given to them. This is why it is our land, the Indian people's land.

There were no White Men at that time, but our forefathers knew that people in other lands would want to come to this one later on and we were warned that we must never change our ways of life for another, but remain fast so that when the time of

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[1] This presumably is with the exception of the migrations they were required to make before they settled down in their homeland.

> purification comes we will find ourselves faithful and may therefore enter everlasting life.[1]

The Hopi pray in their homeland, the spiritual center, and their prayers go to all parts of the Earth. Their prayers and ceremonials keep all things well and healthy, the natural forces together. Their homeland, the spiritual center, is sacred and must therefore not have anything wrong in it nor be defiled. They want it to remain organic the way it has always been. They believe the land should be kept in the hands of the Hopi so that they can take care of everything for all people. The Hopi were instructed not to tear up their Mother Earth in any way. This does not preclude farming, which is their main form of sustenance, the way that they are nourished by Mother Earth. In their spiritual center the traditional Hopi try to fulfill their role as preservers of the well-being of nature.

Sacred places

The land in general provides tribal identity, and the Hopi homeland is thought to be the spiritual center of the hemisphere, but also there are specific sacred places. Black Mesa and the San Francisco peaks are particularly sacred to the Hopi. Among the Pueblo Indians usually four sacred places define the boundaries of the world, from which the spirits come.[1] According to Hopi belief, during half the year when the kachinas are not residing in the Hopi villages, they have four homes: the San Francisco peaks (Nuvatukya 'ovi), a place near Pinon (Kisiwu), a locality near Safford or Springerville (Welima), and a place in Monument Valley (Kiwestima). These localities form a rough square.[2]

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[1] "When They Have Eyes" The Hopi Vision," Clear Creek: The Environmental Viewpoint, no. 13 (March 23, 1972), pp. 15, 38-39. The prophecy referred to in the last paragraph is recorded in the form of a petroglyph on a rock near Oraibi.

According to Pueblo belief mountains or mesas apparently have power. They are the homes of supernaturals and great shrines or sanctuaries. Mountain effigies on altars testify to the belief that mountains or mesas are perhaps themselves supernaturals, at least the four sacred mountains of the directions.[3]

Pueblo shrines range from a mere boulder or rocky ledge or cave to a ring or cairn of stones, or any place visited habitually to pray and make offerings such as a tree, spring, pool, or at Oraibi a housetop. Other shrines include a miniature stone-slab house, an elaborately carved and painted tabernacle (the Zuñi Shalako roof box), a great crater pit at Laguna, the Salt Lake at Zuñi, and the small depression near the Taos House door devoted to Filth Boy.[1] The people of Taos believe spirits live under their sacred Blue Lake.

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[1] Alfonso Ortiz, The Tewa World: Space, Time, Being, and Becoming in a Pueblo Society (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 18-25.

[2] Byron Harvey, III, "An Overview of Pueblo Religion," in New Perspectives on the Pueblos, ed. Alfonso Ortiz, School of American Research Book (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972), p. 211.

[3] Parsons, p. 214.

The Cheyennes have sacred sites, especially Nowah'-wus or Bear Butte near Sturgis, South Dakota, where the All Father and the Sacred Powers themselves gave Sweet Medicine the four sacred arrows. In nearly every generation since then some Cheyennes have made the pilgrimage to Bear Butte.[2]

The Black Hills are sacred to the Sioux. They are of dark and forbidding nature. Storms arise there. The Black Hills are a place providing isolation where a young man might travel for an important vision.

Every tribe has sacred areas. These sources of spiritual power are an essential part of their tribal identification. Places are the habitat of spirits. Power is tied in with place. There is a bond between people and their land.

Mystical relationship with the soil

The soil of the Earth Mother itself is beloved. Chief Luther Standing Bear, a Lakota born in 1868, spent his early years on the plains of Nebraska and South Dakota. He wrote about how the traditional Lakota felt toward the soil itself:

> The Lakota was a true naturist--a lover of nature. He loved the earth and all things of the earth, the attachment growing with age. The old

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[1] Parsons, p. 307. [2] Powell, pp. 18-19, 427.

> people came literally to love the soil and they sat or reclined on the ground with a feeling of being close to a mothering power. It was good for the skin to touch the earth and the old people liked to remove their moccasins and walk with bare feet on the sacred earth. Their tipis were built upon the earth and their altars were made of earth. The birds that flew in the air came to rest upon the earth and it was the final abiding place of all things that lived and grew. The soil was soothing, strengthening, cleansing and healing.
>
> That is why the old Indian still sits upon the earth instead of propping himself up and away from its life-giving forces. For him, to sit or lie upon the ground is to be able to think more deeply and to feel more keenly; he can see more clearly into the mysteries of life and come closer in kinship to other lives about him.[1]

The flesh and blood and bones of their ancestors have become part of the land that native American tribes occupy.

Chief Luther Standing Bear explained in his autobiography why he thought white people did not understand Indians or America:

> The white man does not understand the Indian for the reason that he does not understand America. He is too far removed from its formative processes. The roots of the trees of his life have not yet grasped the rock and soil. The white man is still troubled with primitive fears; he still has in his consciousness the perils of this frontier continent, some of its vastnesses not yet having yielded to his questing footsteps and inquiring eyes. He shudders still with the memory of the loss of his forefathers upon its scorching deserts and forbidding mountain-tops. The man from Europe is still a foreigner and an alien. And he still hates the men who questioned his path across the continent. But in the Indian the spirit of the land is still vested; it will be until other men are able to divine and meet its rhythm. Men must be born and reborn to belong. Their bodies must be

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[1] Chief Luther Standing Bear, Land of the Spotted Eagle (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1933), p. 192.

formed of the dust of their forefather's bones.[1]

Chief Plenty-Coups gave a farewell address in 1909 at the Little Bighorn council grounds in Montana, in which he expressed an attitude similar to that of Chief Luther Standing Bear:

> The ground on which we stand is sacred ground. It is the dust and blood of our ancestors. On these plains the Great White Father at Washington sent his soldiers armed with long knives and rifles to slay the Indian. Many of them sleep on yonder hill where Pahaska--White Chief of the Long Hair [General Custer] --so bravely fought and fell. A few more passing suns will see us here no more, and our dust and bones will mingle with these same prairies.[2]

Curley, a Crow Indian chief, expressed his feeling about the soil in his rejection of a proposed land cession in 1912:

> The soil you see is not ordinary soil--it is the dust of the blood, the flesh and the bones of our ancestors. We fought and bled and died to keep other Indians from taking it, and we fought and bled and died helping the Whites. You will have to dig down through the surface before you can find nature's earth, as the upper portion is Crow.
>
> The land as it is, is my blood and my dead; it is consecrated; and I do not want to give up any portion of it.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 248.

[2] Joseph K. Dixon, The Vanishing Race (Garden City: Doubleday, Page, 1913), p. 189.

[3] Vine Deloria, Jr., God Is Red (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1973), pp. 166-67.

The microbial action in the soil makes it possible for us to come from the soil, both in each life and in the evolution of life from matter, and to return to the soil. We are absolutely dependent on the soil's fertility for our food and oxygen, as well as psychological needs. See Conrad Bonifazi, A Theology of Things: A Study of Man in His Physical Environment (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1967), pp. 27-38. This could very well have something to

Land ownership

A final aspect of Indian attitudes toward the Earth as Mother has to do with their concepts of land ownership. To some extent they think in terms of land ownership and to some extent in terms of rights to the use of land.

The Hopi as a tribe own their land. The Spanish Crown gave the towns titles to the land.[1] The United States has recognized Hopi ownership in accordance with the boundaries of the Hopi reservation. What is significant in Hopi thought, however, is that their land was given directly to them by Masauwü. The traditional Hopi view of tribal land ownership was set forth in a portion of a speech made in 1972 by Mina Lansa before the Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practices and Procedures:

> The Interior Department says the Hopi got a good deal because they got money for the lease. We don't want the money--we want our land. Our land is now being torn up by strip mining and it threatens Hopi

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say not only about the sacredness of the soil but also about what sort of religion is appropriate for America. Chief Luther Standing Bear in the quotation given above says the spirit of the land is still vested in the Indian; people must be formed of the dust of their forebears' bones in order to belong. If a group of people have been in a place long enough, the people are literally made partly of the dust of their forebears' bones, as is evident in the description Dubos gives about how organic matter is broken down and eventually becomes part of other organisms. See René Dubos, "A Theology of the Earth," Audubon, July 1972, pp. 31-32. Maybe non-Indian Americans are not made of the dust of their ancestors' bones, but of the dust of Indian bones. If, as Chief Luther Standing Bear says, this makes a difference in our spiritual relationship with the land, maybe this says something about what kind of spirituality we should be developing.

[1] Parsons, p. 21.

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> Life. This kind of thing leads us to destruction. Land, water is precious to our physical and spiritual life. We depend on our Mother Earth for our existence. The government will not provide our physical and spiritual needs after you have taken all from us. We, the Hopi, were the first who step on this continent, it is Hopi Land. The Land was given to us directly from the Supreme Power and it does not belong to the government.[1]

In another part of Andrew Hermequaftewa's speech quoted above[2] he said, "To buy and sell land is not right in the sight of our Great Spirit," because the Hopi sacred center was given to them by Masauwü as the place in which they were to make their livelihood in accordance with the teachings.

Each Hopi town owns its land collectively. Theoretically no town land may be disposed of to strangers. Grazing and timber lands are always common for the whole town.[3] Fields, houses, and springs, however, are controlled by and descend within the maternal family or clan. Ownership of them is vested in the clan, the individual women having the usufruct and also the right of disposal subject to the veto of the clan expressed by either mass opinion or as a decision of the clan mother.[4] Lowie and Parsons[5] have shown that a particular lineage within a clan normally inherits the custodianship of ceremonial paraphernalia or directs activities associated with the clan. Likewise, the "Mother" of the lineage which controls the ceremonial oversees the use of the clan's land.[1]

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[1] Thomas Banyaca and Mina Lansa, "Traditional Hopi Speak for Themselves," *Clear Creek: The Environmental Viewpoint*, no. 13 (March 23, 1972), p. 41.

[2] P. 12. [3] Parsons, p. 21.

[4] C. Daryll Forde, "Hopi Agriculture and Land Ownership," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 61 (1963): p. 371.

[5] Robert H. Lowie, "Notes on Hopi Clans," *Anthropological Paper of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 30 (New York, 1929): pp. 330, 348; Elsie Clews Parsons, *American Anthropologist*, n.s., (1931).

The main clan lands are devoted to corn. The families composing each clan cultivate fields within the clan lands. The clan lands are dispersed over a number of sites, and the family fields are, where possible, scattered over the various sections held by the clan. The success of Hopi farming depends on cultivating plots in various clan sections so there will be less chance of all being washed out and on freedom to shift the boundaries of the plots within a section depending on the distribution of natural floodwater according to minute changes in surface topography.[2] When Forde studied Hopi land use in 1929 there was more arable land than was needed, except perhaps at Shipaulovi.[3]

Although the husbands and unmarried sons of the clan women do most of the work in the fields, the fields are "owned" or controlled by the women, who receive them from the clan.[4] When the daughters marry, the mother gives them one or more, or parts of a few, of the several fields at her disposal. Often the question of disposal of lands to married daughters has little practical importance because the daughters continue to live in the house and family of the mother. On a woman's death the control of her land is assumed by her female matrilineal relatives, her direct descendants having prior claim.[1]

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[1] Forde, p. 373.

[2] Ibid., pp. 369-70. [3] Ibid., p. 370. [4] Ibid.

The precise control of land or produce is often not clearly defined among an extended family group. Several statements suggest that demands for a share in the crop from fellow-clanswomen cannot be refused.[2] Individuals generally refer to their fields as belonging to the clan as a whole. There is considerable sharing within the clan of field labor and food. Lands are readily transferred to indigent relatives or clanspersons.

In addition to the clan corn fields there are also smaller patches on the sloping grounds closer to the mesas. These are planted with beans, squashes, and melons. At Mishongnovi Forde was told by two informants that these were grouped in clan divisions as were the corn fields. However, at the other villages Forde investigated these fields were apparently considered personal rather than clan property.[3]

Irrigated gardens and all springs are "owned by" or mythologically associated with particular clans. Spring water, however, is available for drinking, irrigating, or stock watering to individuals of other clans. The irrigated gardens are usually cared for by women and passed on from mother to daughter.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 370-71.

[2] Ibid., p. 371. [3] Ibid., p. 369.

Forde relates Agavo's description to Mrs. Aitken of the periodic cleaning of springs, conducted in the same manner as voluntary field-working parties. An individual noticing the work needed to be done suggests the formation of a work party to the "owner," who Forde thinks is probably the owning clan's chief. The "owner" has the party announced by a crier and prepares prayer-feathers that will be placed by the spring when the work is completed. When the party does the work, they eat food prepared for them and are thanked for their work.

The Hopi system of land tenure is in theory one of clan ownership with inheritance of usufruct by females in the female line, but sometimes men acquire fields from their relatives. This probably fairly common occurrence does not involve alienation of land from the clan. However, occasionally the man passes on his fields to his daughters or even sons, thereby transferring the fields to individuals outside the clan. This is probably unusual except where the man's clan has excess land or his wife's clan has a shortage of good land. When this does occur the children must obtain permission from the father's clansfolk and cannot transfer the land without fresh permission.[3] The newer fields beyond the Keams Canyon wash are, according to one informant, held by men in their own right.[1] Peach trees are planted and tended by men on common land and the trees (but not the land) are inherited by the daughters. The sons plant their own trees.[2]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 377. Forde does not give his source.

[3] Ibid., pp. 377-78.

The pattern of Hopi land use, then, is matrilineal clan ownership of fields, houses, and springs, with individual women having rights of usufruct and of bequeathing to their female descendants, with husbands and unmarried sons working the fields. There are exceptions of male ownership but few cases of men being able to bequeath these possessions to their children.

Plains Indians did not subdivide their territory. Harmon wrote: "The Indians who reside in the large plains make no . . . subdivision of their territory; for the wealth of their country consists in buffaloes and wolves, which exist in plenty everywhere among them."[3] Thwaites, whom Roe calls "a critic of high standing,"[4] defines the Dakotas

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[1] Ibid., p. 379. [2] Ibid., p. 394.

[3] Daniel Williams Harmon, A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America (orig. ed., 1820), American Explorers (New York, 1922), p. 330. Also Warburton Pike, The Barren Ground of Northern Canada (orig. ed., 1891), (London, 1917), p. 156: Ernest Thompson Seton, The Arctic Prairies (New York, 1911), p. 278; Norman Fergus Black, A History of Saskatchewan and the Old North West, 2d ed. (Regina, Sask., 1913), p. 449.

[4] Frank Gilbert Roe, The North American Buffalo: A Critical Study of the Species in its Wild State, 2d ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 620.

(Sioux) as "genuine nomads."[1] Parkman writes in 1846:

> The western Dahcotah have no fixed habitation. Hunting and fighting, they wander incessantly through summer and winter. Some follow the herds of buffalo over the waste of prairie; others traverse the Black Hills . . . emerging at last upon the . . . hunting-grounds. The buffalo supplies them with the necessaries of life. . . .[2]

The Oglala "roam over the remote prairie."[3] Father De Smet says: "The northern Cheyennes have embraced the nomadic life, and follow the buffalo in his migrations."[4]

Not all Plains Indians were totally nomadic, however. Some grew corn and/or tobacco and therefore presumably had designated fields. The inhabitants of the "maize areas" on the east and southwest of the "bison area" lived in the tepee only when on their hunts and otherwise lived in various types of permanent housing, indicating only partial nomadism. Not all inhabitants of the "bison area" itself lived solely in the tepee. Parkman states that the Santee Sioux, except the extreme western bands, cultivated the soil.[1] The Eastern Sioux used both the skin tepee and the bark lodge, but the western bands used only the tepee.[2] The Mandans used the tepee only on their hunts.[3] The Pawnees had "permanent winter villages" of half-spherical lodges on the lower Platte.[4] In 1875 there were still remains of some old Blackfoot sod houses, and tobacco was being grown at that place, as it apparently had been for many years.[5]

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[1] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 1610-1791, 73 vols. (Cleveland, 1896-1901), 1:12.

[2] Francis Parkman, The Oregon Trail (orig. ed., 1847), (Boston, 1892), p. 177.

[3] Ibid., p. 233.

[4] Pierre Jean De Smet, Life, Letters, and Labours of Father P. J. De Smet, 1801-1871, eds. H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson, 4 vols. (New York, 1905), 1:211; also Pierre Jean De Smet, Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains, 1845-1846 (orig. ed., 1847), Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, 32 vols (Cleveland, 1906), 27:160.

Plains Indians regarded the game on their territory as theirs. Samuel Hancock wrote that in 1845 a Crow war-party "said Sioux had been killing their buffalo and other game on their [the Crows'] lands, and that they were now in search of them to obtain redress for these injuries."[6] Dodge considers this point of view as a more or less general characteristic.[7] Hind mentions it among the Plains

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[1] Francis Parkman, La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West (orig. ed., 1878), (Boston, 1910), p. 260; cf. Elliott Coues, ed., The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike (1805-6-7), 3 vols. (New York, 1895), 1:341-5.

[2] Parkman, La Salle, p. 260; Coues, 1:341-5.

[3] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the North American Indians, 8th ed., 2 vols. (London, 1851), passim.

[4] Parkman, Oregon Trail, p. 74.

[5] Sir Cecil E. Denny, Manuscript reminiscence in Provincial Legislative Library, Edmonton, Alta., p. 83, cited by Roe, p. 625, n146.

[6] Samuel Hancock, The Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 1845-1860, ed. A. D. Howden Smith (New York, 1937), p. 18.

[7] Col. Richard Irving Dodge, Our Wild Indians (Hartford, Conn., 1833, 1886), p. 380. Roe says Dodge is sometimes unreliable concerning Indians. Roe, p. 620.

Cree.[1] Cowie notes the tribes in the Cypress Hills locality in 1868 resented the "half-breed whites" hunting in that region: they thought "the entire British nation was living on their pemmican."[2] About 1866-68 the Indians warned the half-breeds not to hunt buffalo around Red Deer Lake in Saskatchewan unless they paid a "duty" on every buffalo.[3] Hornaday writes that the Sioux regarded all the buffaloes on their territory as theirs as part of their concept of land ownership:

> Apparently it never occurred to the minds of the Sioux that they themselves were equally to blame [for the disappearance of the buffaloes]; it was always the paleface who killed the buffaloes; and it was always Sioux buffaloes that they killed. The Sioux seemed to feel that they held a chattel mortgage on all the buffaloes north of the Platte, and it required more than one pitched battle to convince them otherwise.[4]

Summary

In native American thought the Earth is a Mother and is one of the spirits of nature. People relate to her in a number of ways. One way is an effort to relate to the womb of the Earth Mother in ceremonies and after death. Another way is that the Hopi consider their portion of the Earth Mother to be a spiritual center, upon which the well-being of other parts of the Earth and of the natural world depends. Indian tribes characteristically have sacred places, and the Pueblo, Cheyenne, and Sioux follow this pattern. The soil itself allows a basis for a mystical relationship with the Earth, other lives, and ancestors. Land is "owned" by the clan or tribe, "ownership" meaning the right to the produce of the land.

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[1] Henry Youle Hind, Report on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858 (Toronto: Published by authority of the Legislative Assembly, 1859), p. 56.

[2] Isaac Cowie, The Company of Adventurers (Toronto, 1913) pp. 301-5, 445, 483.

[3] Norbert Welsh, The Last Buffalo-Hunter, ed. Mary Weekes, (New York, 1939), pp. 97-100.

[4] William T. Hornaday, "The Extermination of the American Bison, with a Sketch of its Discovery and Life History," Smithsonian Report, 1887 (Washington, 1889), p. 490.

Animals, Plants, and Natural Phenomena As Relatives

Animals, plants, and natural phenomena as deities

The Earth Mother is one aspect of the spirituality of the universe. Animals and other natural phenomena are also deified. Animals and other things in nature, like the Earth, may be thought of in terms of kinship.

The Cheyenne acknowledge a principal god, Maheo, Maxemaheo, or Heammawihio, the All Father, the Creator, who lives up above. Earth is similarly venerated and possesses like power and beneficence.[1] She is offered the pipe along with Maheo and the Maheyuno, the four Sacred Persons who dwell at the cardinal points of the universe[2] but are not the directions themselves. The Maheyuno are friendly. Nevertheless, they are to be propitiated.[3] Maheo created the Maheyuno, who are venerated under him, and the Maiyun, the collective name for the Lesser Powers, also called the Above and Below Persons.[1] The Maiyun include the Sun, Thunder, Moon, Morning Star and Stars, the Whirlwind, Badger, and lesser Sacred Powers who assume the forms of animals, birds, and natural phenomena when they appear to humans.[2] As a whole, the Maiyun are beneficent. However, there are exceptions, such as the underwater monsters. But even then there is real danger of bad luck only when the people treat such a monster disrespectfully.[3]

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[1] Grinnell, 2:88.

[2] Powell, pp. xxi-xxii. [3] Grinnell, 2:90.

The Sioux pantheon, as stated by Black Elk, an Oglala Sioux holy man, is similar to the Cheyenne:

> Our closest relatives are our Grandfather and Father, Wakan-Tanka, our Grandmother and Mother, the Earth, the four Powers of the universe, the red and blue days, the two divisions of the day [light and darkness], the morning star, the Spotted Eagle, who guards all that is sacred about the corn; and also our pipe, which is as a relative, for he guards the people; and it is through him that we pray to Wakan-Tanka.[4]

For Black Elk animals are relatives. He prays, "May we be continually aware of this relationship which exists between the four-leggeds, the two-leggeds, and the wingeds. May we all rejoice and live in peace!"[5] The two-leggeds, the four-leggeds, the wingeds and all that move upon the earth are children of Grandmother Earth.[6]

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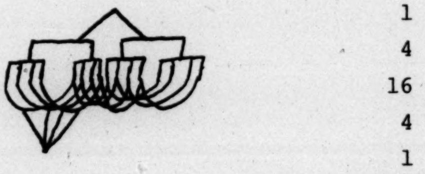
[1] Powell, pp. xxi, 434. [2] Ibid., p. xxii.

[3] Ibid., p. 439. [4] Black Elk, Sacred Pipe, p. 109.

[5] Ibid., p. 98. [6] Ibid., p. 105.

Walker's account of the Oglala Lakota pantheon differs somewhat from Black Elk's in that it is more systematized and Wakan Tanka is less personalized.[1] The Oglala, according to Walker, have a complicated pantheon, known in a detailed or systematic fashion only by the Shamans. The final systematization is Walker's own, however.[2] There are both benevolent and malevolent gods. The malevolent are not systematized. They are dissociated spirits that wander over the earth.[3] They are Iya or Ibom, Gnaski the Demon, Monsters, Water Sprites, Forest Dwellers, goblins, and manikins. The potency of all the malevolent gods can be made either operative or impotent by shamans.[4] Both the benevolent and malevolent gods are Wakan Tanka, who is one, yet many.[7] The benevolent gods are systematized so that they branch out to two, then four, then sixteen, which are four, which are one.



These gods include Sun, who is the Chief of the Gods, Sky, who is the Great Spirit, Earth, who is the All-mother, Rock, who is the All-father, Moon, Wind, Feminine, Winged God,

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[1] Walker, pp. 57, 59, 79-92, 152.

[2] Åke Hultkrantz, "North American Indian Religion in the History of Research: A General Survey," History of Religions 7 (August 1967): 17. Also Walker, p. 56.

[3] Walker, p. 88. [4] Ibid., pp. 89-90. [5] Ibid., p. 79.

Buffalo God, Bear God, Four Winds, Whirlwind, Spirit, Ghost, Spirit-like, and Supernatural Potency.[1] Sun's favor may be secured by appropriate offerings and ceremonies, and he may grant a communication to one who dances the sun dance.[2] Skan or Sky or the Great Spirit is a vague concept of force or energy.[3]

The Hopi pantheon, although different from the Plains tribes', also consists of the spiritual forces of nature.

In a selected list given by Parsons, Hopi spirits mentioned include Müy'ingwa the male maize spirit, a maid Müy'ingwa mana, the Corn Maidens, Child-medicine Woman, Earth Altar Young Woman, Masauwü, who is god of fire and war and first denizen of Hopiland, Cloud chiefs of the color-directions, Lightning or Star or Sky, the dead, Sun, T'aiowa, who is the son of Sun, Dawn Young Woman, Moon, Morning star or Big star, Pleiades, Orion, Broad star, Galaxy, Wind Woman, Whirlwind, war god Salt Man, Hard Being Woman, Stone hoe people, Stone kachina, Ash or Poker Boys, Mountain Lion, Bear, Wildcat, Wolf, Coyote, Badger curer, giant eagle, Hawk, Spider Woman, Beetle, Locust, Ka´toya the rattlesnake patron, Water Serpent, Pü´ükonghoya or little smiter, Pa´lüngahoya or Echo, Scalps, and kachina.[4]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 79-80. [2] Ibid., p. 81.

[3] Ibid., p. 81. Also W. J. McGee, Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1897), p. 182.

[4] Parsons, chart between pp. 208-9.

Hopi Cloud chiefs are at the four directions.[1] The dead at large may be associated with the Cloud beings.[2] Cloud beings and kachina are not identical, even though in general the clouds and the dead as clouds are kachina, and the kachina bring rain.[3] Almost all spirits may be represented as kachina, i.e., impersonated by mask, but not the Earth spirits, including the male maize spirit of the Hopi underworld, Müy'ingwa.[4] The term "kachina" refers not to a special class of spirits like the Cloud chiefs but to whatever spirit is being impersonated by mask and by whatever ceremonial group.[5] Hopi kachina live mostly on the San Francisco Mountains to the west or on Black Mesa forty to sixty miles to the north or northeast.[6] The kachina are associated with rainfall, crops, and game.[7] All the game animals who "give themselves" are represented as kachina.[8]

Müy'ingwa is a male maize spirit, god of vegetation, chief of the Nadir, father of the underworld.[9] The dead journey to his underground house. Masauwü, the first denizen of Hopiland, has a paramount position. He is a towering personage of death, war, fire, and night.[10] Dawn Woman lives underwater and is possibly to be identified with Hard Substance Woman, the founder of shells, coral, and turquoise.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 170.
[2] Ibid., p. 171.
[3] Ibid., pp. 173-4.
[4] Ibid., p. 173.
[5] Ibid., p. 174.
[6] Ibid., p. 175.
[7] Ibid., p. 176.
[8] Ibid., p. 177.
[9] Ibid., p. 178.
[10] Ibid., p. 179, 183-4.

The Sun Father, Sun Old Man, journeys daily to his house in the west which he occupies with Hard Substance Woman or White Shell. When Sun rises in the east, he should be greeted and prayed to. Sometimes his people, the Dawn People, are greeted and prayed to instead. At noon Sun stands still for a little.[3] Because he is a man and unstable, he must be helped by being "turned" or "pulled back" by prayer-sticks during the solstices.[4] Sun can "die" in eclipse,[5] which may also cause human deaths. Sun is prayed to for longevity; he is also a hunt deity,[6] and gives power in war, fertilizes the fields, and is associated with phallic clown societies.[7]

Spirit birds or animals are collective concepts, often conflicting and obscure to what extent they are independent spirits, helpers, intercessors (Stevenson's term), spirit companions, or "pets" (Stephen's term). Lion, Bear, Wildcat, and Wolf are associated with the War gods. The Hawks are war chiefs associated with the sky and Shótokününgwa.[8] The game animals that are always asked "to give themselves" are mentioned as pets of the Somaikoli society.[9] Water Serpents and water creatures are pets of the Clouds.[1] Water Serpent is a collective being but is also referred to as a single punitive and fearsome personage who controls flood and earthquake.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 177. [2] Ibid., p. 179. [3] Ibid., p. 180.
[4] Ibid. [5] Ibid. [6] Ibid. [7] Ibid., p. 181.
[8] Ibid., p. 184. [9] Ibid.

Spider is the mother of all. The Antelope society chief at Mishongnovi asks her to keep away storm and sickness and send rain.[3] Ritually Spider Woman is associated with war, but in Pueblo tales she is a benevolent, helpful old woman.[4]

Mountains are sacred. It is not clear to what degree they are personified because they are so closely associated with the kachina or with the Chiefs of the Color-Directions.[5]

A quarry from which Hopi bakeslabs are taken is addressed with prayer-feathers. It has given of itself. At the house the slab is fed regularly.[6] Many tutelary beings "give themselves." For instance, a War Brother turns himself to salt, thus giving himself to Hopi travelers to Grand Canyon.[7]

The Pueblos believe that everything significant is alive[8] and endowed with spirit:

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[1] Alexander M[acGregor] Stephen, Hopi Journal of Alexander M. Stephen, ed. Elsie Crews Parsons, 2 vols., Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 23 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936; New York; AMS Press, 1969), 1: 307 (n.1).

[2] Parsons, pp. 184-85. [3] Ibid., pp. 192-93.

[4] Ibid., p. 193. [5] Ibid., p. 195. [6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., pp. 195-96. [8] Ibid., p. xii.

> Not only are all the precious yields of nature animated by spirits, but spirit is incorporate in simulacres of a corn ear, in scalp or buckskin taken from the enemy, in shield or drum, in staff or standard, in lightning-riven wood or fire-stick or fossilized wood, in the clan nodule of the kickball race, in bakestone, in crystals or weathered stones, perhaps in anything that seems fantastic or unusual to its finder.[1]

Prayer-feathers are offered even to a stove or a watch.[2] Intíwa, the Powamu society chief, remarks, "The universe is endowed with the same breath; rocks, trees, grass, earth, all animals and men."[3] Prayer-sticks are animate.[4] A man collecting wood for his prayer-sticks will sprinkle meal on a neighboring tree or bush of the same species, and say a prayer.[5] Fewkes explains:

> The modern Hopi recognize in man a double nature, corresponding to body and soul, and to the latter they are said to give the expressive name breath-body. This breath-body man shares with organic and inorganic nature, and it likewise forms an essential part of objects of human manufacture. The figures which are so constant and prominent on altars have breath-bodies, and it is this essence, not the idol, which is worshipped. The prayer-bearer, or paho, has likewise a breath-body, and this is the essential part of the offering taken from the shrine by the god to whom it is addressed. The material stick remains in the shrine; the supernatural is taken by the God.[6]

All Pueblo spirits--Clouds, kachina, the Dead, cosmic beings, the animals, birds, and insects, indwelling spirits of trees, plants, and stones--have human tastes and interests and live under familiar economic or social conditions.[1] They are well housed; they travel, farm, hunt, and have family life.[2] As in Pueblo ceremonial organization, there is little or no supremacy, although there are some ordered relationships.[3] Spirits can even die.[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 197. [2] Ibid., p. 198. [3] Stephen, 1:706.

[4] Parsons, p. 281. Documented for Acoma and Zuñi. Leslie A. White, "The Acoma Indians," Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1929-30) (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1932), p. 485; Ruth L. Bunzel, "Introduction to Zuñi Ceremonialism," ibid., p. 485; Ruth L. Bunzel, "Zuñi Ritual Poetry," ibid., p.799.

[5] Parsons, p. 277. [6] American Anthropologist 9:161.

Among Hopi the animals are commonly spoken of or to as kindred. A hunter may refer to his own wife as the deer's mother. Spider is "grandmother," and Coyote is "grandfather" or "uncle." Also plants and anything in nature may be thought of in the familiar and warm bonds of kinship.[5]

Spiritual essences of plants as medicine

Medicinal plants have both material and spiritual effects. The spiritual effects depend on the doctrine of signatures, according to Grinnell. A variety of organic or inorganic things are thought to be able to transfer their special powers or attributes.[6] In other cases, independently of the doctrine of signatures, spiritual essences of plants, if gathered and prepared in certain ways, are useful for people. The plant must be given something, such as a pinch of tobacco, pollen, or corn meal. Pueblos have the conviction that service should be compensated, that a gift necessitates a return gift. They, accordingly, even pay plants, minerals, and animals, as well as people for gifts or services.[1] Prayers are addressed to the spiritual essence of the plant, explaining that only as much as is necessary is being gathered for an appropriate need. Black Elk relates that when he gathered his herb, "After I had offered red willow bark to the Six Powers, I made a prayer to the herb, and said to it: 'Now we shall go forth to the two-leggeds, but only to the weakest ones, and there shall be happy days among the weak.'"[2]

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[1] Parsons, p. 198. [2] Ibid., pp. 199-205.

[3] Ibid., p. 205. [4] Ibid., p. 206. [5] Ibid., p. 56.

[6] Grinnell, 2:167.

Herbal medicine does not depend so much on actual plants but upon the spirits--the spirituality of the plant itself which provides the basis to cure the illness. Herbal medicine may be considered an art of achieving communication with the spirits. The four-rayed herb that Black Elk later used for healing was revealed to him in his vision. He used it in conjunction with a ceremony in which he invoked all the powers.[3] During the ceremony Black Elk prayed, "The herb that you have shown me, through its power shall the feeble walk upright."[4]

Spiritual nature of agriculture

The origins of agriculture are religious. Knowledge of domesticated plants has come through the intervention of the spirits. The Hopi god Masauwü, sometimes now referred to as the Great Spirit, gave the first people squash and other vegetables. Hopi farmers summon him.[1] The Earth Mother gave the Cheyennes both corn and buffalo.[2] (They were an agricultural people before they assumed a nomadic life on the Plans.) According to Black Elk the Sioux got corn from the Ree nation, but it was found as the result of Matohoshila's vision.[3]

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[1] Parsons, p. 72. [2] *Black Elk Speaks*, pp. 201-2.

[3] Ibid., pp. 200-207. [4] Ibid., p. 205.

Agriculture has a spiritual nature. In all the pueblos there are maize spirits. Corn meal and pollen from plants are sacred symbols of the fertility of the earth. Powamu is one of the major ceremonies of the Hopi; in the spring beans are planted in an underground kiva. Other agricultural rites are also performed.[4] People are the guardians of plants provided for them by the spirits.

Corn and buffalo symbols both earthly and sacred

An animal and a plant that are especially sacred are the buffalo on the Plains and corn in the Southwest. They are the main source of earthly subsistence in each case. They are also spiritual and are widely used as symbols in ceremonials. Corn meal and pollen are sacred symbols of the fertility of the earth. The buffalo represents the people and the universe.[1]

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[1] Parsons, p. 183.

[2] Powell, p. 26, related by Mary Inkanish to Powell; parallels other accounts.

[3] *Sacred Pipe*, pp. 101-102. [4] See below.

Among the Pueblos corn meal is held in the hand to the mouth and prayed on and breathed on and then sprinkled.[2] Corn pollen is used similarly to corn meal except that it is favored for offerings to animals, especially snakes.[3] A Laguna (Pueblo) man places meal and pollen along with deer meat and bread crumbs in the middle of the wheat field he is going to plant. The Storm Clouds, Earth Mother, and Kopeshlaya will send rain and further the crops in return for the food they have been offered.[4] Food might also be offered to the corn fields. At Cochiti (Pueblo) the fields are offered rabbit meat at planting and harvesting "to feed the corn."[5]

Corn was also sacred to the Sioux, but not so sacred as the buffalo. In Black Elk's account of "The Making of Relatives" ceremony he says, "The corn was as important to the Ree as was the buffalo to the Sioux."[6] Matohoshila, who received this rite in a vision, explained the sacredness of the corn:

> The ear of the corn which you see here has twelve important meanings connected with it, for there are twelve rows of kernels, which it receives from the various powers of the universe. As we think of the different things the corn can teach us, we should, above all, never forget the peace and the relationship which it is establishing here. . . .

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[1] Brown, p. 72. [2] Parsons, p. 292. [3] Ibid., p. 296.

[4] Ibid., p. 300. [5] Ibid., p. 300.

[6] The Sacred Pipe, p. 109.

> The tassel which grows upon the top of the ear of corn, and which we have represented here by the eagle plume, represents the presence of the Great Spirit, for, as the pollen from the tassel spreads all over, giving life, so it is with Wakan-Tanka, who gives life to all things. This plume, which is always on top of the plant, is the first to see the light of the dawn as it comes, and it sees also the night and the moon and all the stars. For all these reasons it is very wakan [holy]. And this stick which I have stuck into the ear of corn is the tree of life, reaching from Earth to Heaven, and the fruit, which is the ear with all its kernels, represents the people and all things of the universe. It is good to remember these things if we are to understand the rites which are to come.[1]

The buffalo supplied almost everything used by the Plains Indians. It supplied almost all their food in the winter and a great portion of it in summer.[2] Wissler describes the culture of the Plains area partly as "dependence upon the buffalo or bison, and the very limited use of roots and berries; absence of fishing; lack of agriculture."[3] Prairie tribes who were exceptions and did practice agriculture included the Mandans, Minatari, Arikara, Pawnee, and Osages.[4] Hornaday describes the uses to which the buffalo was put:

> The body of the buffalo yielded fresh meat, of which thousands of tons were consumed; dried meat, prepared in summer for winter use; pemmican (also prepared in summer), balls or sacks, and kept in store; marrow, preserved in bladders; and tongues,

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[1] As related by Black Elk in The Sacred Pipe, pp. 108-9.

[2] Roe, p. 602. Dodge says meat was "the sole diet of the Plains tribes nine months in the year"; Wild Indians, p. 207.

[3] Clark Wissler, The American Indian (Orig. ed., 1916), (New York, 1922), p. 218.

[4] Roe, p. 603.

> dried and smoked, and eaten as a delicacy.
>
> The skin of the buffalo yielded a robe, dressed with the hair on, for clothing and bedding; a hide dressed without the hair, which made a tepee cover, when a number were sewn together; boats, when sewn together in a green state over a wooden framework. Shields, made from the thickest portion, as rawhide; ropes, made up as rawhide; clothing of many kinds; bags for use in travelling; coffins, or winding sheets for the dead, etc.
>
> Other portions utilized were sinews, which furnished fiber for ropes, thread, bow-strings, snowshoe webs, etc.; hair, which was sometimes made into belts and ornaments; "buffalo-chips", which formed a valuable and highly-prized fuel; bones, from which many articles of use and ornament were made; horns, which were made into spoons; drinking vessels, etc.[1]

Kidd also mentions the Blackfoot use of the paunch as a container in cookery, the horns for carrying about fire, galls as a source of yellow paint, and back-fat for hair grease.[2] There are also paint brushes from a spongy bone from the knee joint of a buffalo,[3] arrow-points made by the Hidatsa from buffalo sinew,[4] and the practice of drinking the juices from the stomach of a slain buffalo when out on the dry plains to prevent death from thirst.[5] John McDougall perceived the relationship between the Plains Indians and the buffalo. He writes of a Blackfoot party in January, 1865:

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[1] Hornaday, pp. 437-8.

[2] Kenneth E. Kidd, "Blackfoot Ethnography" (Master's thesis, University of Toronto, 1937), pp. 87, 90, 113, 123, cited by Roe, p. 606.

[3] F. W. Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, 2 vols. (Washington, 1910), 2:186.

[4] Ibid., p. 575.

[5] Castañeda, The Journey of Coronado, 1540-1542, ed. George P. Winship, American Explorers (New York, 1922), p. 112; Harmon's Journal, p. 279.

"In short, they lived and had their physical being in the buffalo."[1] He also wrote, "The Stoneys [Assiniboine] and Wood Crees could generally live anywhere, but the true plainsman would starve if the buffalo upon which he depended were not forthcoming."[2] It is no wonder that the buffalo was sacred!

Brown gives his explanation of the sacredness of the buffalo:

> The buffalo was to the Sioux the most important of all four-legged animals, for it supplied their food, their clothing, and even their houses, which were made from the tanned hides. Because the buffalo contained all these things within himself, and for many other reasons, he was a natural symbol of the universe, the totality of all manifested forms. Everything is symbolically contained within this animal: the earth and all that grows from her, all animals, and even the two-legged peoples; and each specific part of the beast represents for the Indian one of these "parts" of creation. Also the buffalo has four legs and these represent the four ages which are an integral condition of creation.[3]

Black Elk says the buffalo should be respected because he is our relative, he was here before the two-leggeds, is generous and wise, and represents the people and the universe.[4]

Walker, as usual, is more recondite in his explanation of the sacredness of the buffalo:

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[1] John McDougall, Saddle, Sled, and Showshoe (Toronto: 1896), p. 261.

[2] John McDougall, On Western Trails in the Early Seventies (Toronto: 1911), p. 195.

[3] Black Elk, Sacred Pipe, p. 6n. [4] Ibid., p. 72.

> The Buffalo is a material God whose substance is visible only when He so wills. His form is that of a great beast, but he may appear to mankind as a man. He abides with the buffalo people in the regions under the world and roams throughout all the domain of the Earth. He is the patron of sexual relations, generosity, industry, fecundity, and ceremonies. He is the protector of maidens and of the very old. He is the comrade of the Sun and in ceremonies pertaining to the Sun, His potency prevails. He controls the chase and gives or withholds success to hunters. His potency abides in the skull of the animal buffalo and can be imparted to anything that has been a part of a buffalo.[1]

The buffalo skull is therefore a fetish. The Cheyennes place a buffalo skull in front of the sweatlodge, smoke to it and offer it the pipe, and pray to it, asking it to rise and clothe itself with flesh so that the people might have meat to eat and its skin for lodges.[2]

In Black Elk's account of the Lakota sun dance there is a series of offerings to the buffalo:

> Kablaya then took up a small bundle of sage, and, offering it up to *Wakan-Tanka*, he prayed.
>
> "O *Wakan-Tanka*, behold us! Next to the two-leggeds, the chief of all the four-leggeds is *tatanka*, the buffalo. Behold his dried skull here; by this we know that we, too, shall become skull and bones, and, thus, together we shall all walk the sacred path back to *Wakan-Tanka*. When we arrive at the end of our days be merciful to us, O *Wakan-Tanka*.[3] Here on earth we live together with the buffalo, and we are grateful to him, for it is he who gives us our food, and who makes the people happy. For this reason I now give grass to our relative the buffalo."
>
> Kablaya then made a little bed of sage to the east of the sacred altar, and, taking up the buffalo skull by the horns, and facing the east, he sang:

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[1] Walker, p. 84. [2] Grinnell, 2:103-4.

[3] This allusion to divine judgment is not typical of Sioux religion. Black Elk may reflect Christian influence here.

UMI

I give grass to the buffalo;
May the people behold it,
That they may live.

Then turning, and holding the skull to the west, Kablaya sang:

Tobacco I give to the buffalo;
May the people behold it,
That they may live.

Then turning to the north, Kablaya sang:

A robe I give to the buffalo;
May the people behold it,
That they may live.

And turning to the south he sang:

Paint I give to the buffalo;
May the people behold it,
That they may live.

Then standing over the sage, Kablaya sang:

Water I will give to the buffalo;
May the people behold it,
That they may live.

The buffalo skull was then placed on the bed of sage, facing east, and Kablaya placed little balls of sage in its eyes and tied a little bag of tobacco on the horn which was facing south, and he also tied a piece of deerhide on the horn at the north, for this hide represents the robe for the buffalo. Then Kablaya painted a red line around the head of the buffalo and drew, also, a red line from the forehead to the tip of the nose. As he did this Kablaya said: "You, O buffalo, are the earth! May we understand this, and all that I have done here. *Hechetu welo*! It is good!"[1]

Game animals free to present themselves or not, have souls

In the interrelationship of animals, people, and all other spiritual beings in the whole of being, game animals are there to benefit human beings, but they are free to present themselves or not, as they desire. They must be rendered well disposed through offerings and a proper relationship.[1] They have souls.

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[1] *Sacred Pipe*, pp. 90-91.

Hultkrantz finds that the belief in the animation of nature is of general occurrence in North America, but that inanimate natural objects are less frequently considered to possess souls than plants are, and plants less frequently than animals. The Sioux (among others the Oglala) and the Pueblos (among others the Hopi) believe that natural objects of lifeless matter possess souls. The Pueblos and possibly the Sioux believe plants possess souls. For the Cheyennes neither natural objects of lifeless matter nor plants possess souls.[2]

The animal guardian, or genius speciei, is the supernatural representative for an animal species, who guards and directs that species.[3] The Cheyenne myth of the origin of the sun dance vaguely indicates belief in a lord of the buffaloes.[1] The Dakota believe that each kind of animal or object possesses its own guardian divinity, which is its archetype.[2] The animal guardians can assume human shape, such as that of a beautiful young woman.[3] The Oglala buffalo guardian, or Buffalo God, usually appears as "a great beast, but he may appear to mankind as a man."[4] Hultkrantz lists the attributes of the animal guardian:

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[1] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 482.

[2] Åke Hultkrantz, Conceptions of the Soul among North American Indians: A Study in Religious Ethnology, trans. Donald Burton, The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm (Statens Etnografiska Museum) Monograph Series, Publication No. 1 (Stockholm, 1953), pp. 493-495. For the Cheyennes, see Grinnell 2:93. For the Oglala, see Walker, p. 152. For the Hopi, see above.

[3] Hultkrantz, Conceptions of the Soul, p. 497. Hultkrantz discusses the conception of the animal guardian among different Indian peoples and its distribution and age, pp. 498-510.

> It protects the animals; it causes them to become or prevents them from becoming game for the hunter; it sees to it that the animals are treated ritually (so that they can be given new life); it avenges the wrongs done to them by man; in its powerful outer form and its remarkable gifts (capacity to change shape or become invisible, to perform miraculous actions) it shows that it is a spirit with supernatural power.[5]

The conception of the guardian of the species occurs only rarely south of the Northwest and Plateau cultures and west of the Rocky Mountains. However, there is a general conception of an individual animal as a type and representative for its species along with the general notion of propitiating the soul of the slain game or its living kin.[1] This is the case among the Pueblos.

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[1] George A. Dorsey, The Cheyenne, Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series (Chicago, 1905), p. 48. Cf. F. G. Speck, Naskapi: The Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula (Norman, Oklahoma, 1935), p. 87.

[2] James W. Lynd, The Religion of the Dakotas, Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society (St. Paul, 1889), p. 155; James Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," 11th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1889-1890 (Washington, 1894), p. 434.

[3] George A. Dorsey, "Legend of the Teton Sioux Medicine Pipe," Journal of American Folklore 19 (Boston, 1906): 326.

[4] Walker, p. 84.

[5] Hultkrantz, Conceptions of the Soul, p. 508.

During the meat offering, a part of the Oglala hunka ceremony, buffalo meat is arranged on a scaffold, and the conductor addresses the skull, "Hunka of Tatanka, this meat was yours, but you gave it to me. If there is any part of it that you wish, tell us and we will give it to you." The spirit in the skull is addressed as Hunka of Tatanka, the Buffalo God, alluding to the belief that the Buffalo God causes the spirits of the buffalo to give their meat to the Lakota and that a portion of the meat should be left to propitiate the spirit.[2]

On the Plains the animals may be caused to present themselves through the power and songs of the vision seeker who has communicated with the animal spirit or through the power of a shaman. There must be a proper relationship. Walker writes:

> To have game animals submit to their fate and become food for mankind a Shaman should explain to a captured one that this is its destiny, then decorate it as a mark of friendship, and, freeing it, bid it tell its kind what he said and did to it. A man may so offend game animals that they will escape from hunters.[3]

In order to render the game animals well disposed, Pueblo Indians give slain animals corn kernels or sprinkle them with meal or pollen. Grass is put on the rabbit hunt fire for the rabbits, who will allow themselves to be caught.[1] Food offerings are a kind of preliminary act of hospitality.[2] On Second Mesa a rabbit is sprinkled with meal, the woman praying that the rabbit will be satisfied and allow its children to be caught.[3] An informant told Brandt in the 1940's, "It is true that the Hopi pray to rabbits before a hunt, asking them to be willing to be caught. They still do this, and they say the rabbits hear."[4] The Hopi cut out a deer's penis and sprinkle it with turquoise and pollen.[5] Zuñis, a Pueblo people, must give shell mixture to get the eagle to let them catch him easily.[6] They offer the same to a killed deer.[7]

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[1] Ibid. [2] Walker, p. 130.

[3] Walker, p. 92.

The following poem is taken from a Zuñi folk tale. A hunter, seeing deer tracks, offers prayer meal and requests that the deer, whom he calls his father or mother, may reveal itself:

> This day
> He who holds our roads,
> Our sun father,
> Has come out standing to his sacred place.
> Now that he has passed us on our roads,
> Here we pass you on your road.
> Divine one,

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[1] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 483. [2] Ibid.

[3] Ernest Beaglehole, Hopi Hunting and Hunting Ritual, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 4 (New Haven, 1936), p. 13.

[4] Richard B. Brandt, Hopi Ethics: A Theoretical Analysis (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 215.

[5] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 297.

[6] Ibid., pp. 296-97. [7] Ibid., p. 297.

The flesh of the white corn,
Prayer meal,
Shell,
Corn pollen,
Here I offer to you.
With your wisdom
Taking the prayer meal,
The shell
The corn pollen,
This day,
My fathers,
My mothers,
In some little hollow,
In some low brush,
You will reveal yourselves to me.
Then with your flesh,
With your living waters,
May I sate myself. In order that this may be
Here I offer your prayer meal.[1]

The totem may or may not be venerated

Totemism in North America is characterized by clans or bands of people united by real or supposed kinship and usually named for some species of animal or plant. The totem species is thought to be related to the clan and all its members, often genetically. In this case, every individual of the species is thought to belong to the clan. The species is the subject of religious prohibitions against such things as injuring, killing, or eating it.[2]

The totem may or may not be venerated.[3] The Osage, a Siouan tribe of the southern Plains, do have deep religious feeling for the totem, influenced by the sacred character of the guardian spirit.[1] But this interpenetration cannot be generalized. It is not true of the Mandan.[2] Not all societies have totems, or even clans.[3] The Plains tribes except on the eastern fringe do not have totemism or a clan system, but the guardian-spirit flourishes.[4]

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[1] Bunzel, "Zuñi Ritual Poetry," p. 835.

[2] Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, 1921, s.v. "Totemism."

[3] Ruth Fulton Benedict, "The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America," Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association 29 (1923): 64.

According to Parsons, the Hopi have only very slight relations to the beings bearing the clan names. It has been observed only at Oraibi that the clan chief addresses prayer-sticks to the eponymous beings at the winter solstice ceremony and that clan animals are frequently referred to as uncle.[5] Lowie thinks the relationship hardly merits the term "totemic."[6]

On the other hand, Fewkes thinks totemism is the basis of the Hopi religion, which he characterizes as "based on a composite totemism overlaid with rites for rain and corn" and having a trace of ancestor-worship.[7] Hopi totemism, he says, "has become the worship of anthropomorphic parents, male and female, a reverence which amounts to worship of the souls of the dead; of beasts or animals as sharing in part a supernatural element possibly due to metempsychosis; and of the great elements foreign to simple totemism."[1] According to Fewkes totemism is conspicuous in the snake ceremony, where the presence of snakes

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[1] Ibid., pp. 65, 67. [2] Ibid., p. 66. [3] Ibid., p. 61.

[4] Ibid. [5] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 56n.

[6] Lowie, Notes on Hopi Clans, p. 337.

[7] Journal of American Folk Lore 11:180ff; Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington), 19:625.

> is generally supposed to show that this rite is a form of snake worship. It is rather a worship of the ancestors of the Snake clans, which are anthropozoömorphic beings, called the Snake youth and the Snake maid; but neither of these represents the Great Snake, nor has their worship anything to do with that of this personage, who was introduced into Hopi mythology and ritual by Rain-cloud clans.[2]

According to Fewkes this totemism is also the fundamental idea of the ceremonial washing of the snakes in the kivas before the public celebrations.[3]

Summary

In native American thought animals, plants, and other natural phenomena are relatives and spirits. Spiritual essences of plants have value as medicine. Agriculture has a spiritual origin and nature. Corn and buffalo are especially sacred. Game animals, having souls, are free to present themselves or not. They must be rendered well disposed through offerings and a proper relationship. The totem may or may not be venerated.

The Human Relationship to the Spiritual World

Human beings have a relationship to these spiritual forces of nature--the Earth, animals, plants and other natural phenomena. People can have contact with the spirits, which are arranged in hierarchies of power. Human beings can thus participate in the interrelationship of all life and can influence the harmony of nature.

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[1] *Journal of American Folk Lore* 11:194.

[2] *Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington), 19:1008-9.

[3] J. Walter Fewkes, *American Anthropologist* 11:313-18.

Can Make Contact

The spirits, or forces of nature, can be contacted by or can contact humans through ritual observances or mystical experiences. Walker's Oglala informants told him that the Great God communicates with humankind through shamans or sacred messengers, which may be anything animate or inanimate, other than humankind. Unsolicited communications are transmitted through shamans, and solicited communications through sacred messengers. The communications may be either intelligible or unintelligible to the recipient. If they are unintelligible, a shaman interprets.[1]

On the Plains the emphasis is on the sought vision.[2] Solicited communications are achieved through the vision quest, which is a universal and basic concept of North American religion.[3] The vision quest occurs in an individual form on the Plains and validates the reality of the spirits in earthly form as animals. In the Southwest the vision quest takes a group ritual form and shows the reality of the kachina spirits in the kachina dancers. In either case the purpose is to achieve a mystical communication with the spirits that brings those spiritual forces to bear on daily life.

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[1] Walker, p. 79. [2] Benedict, p. 26. [3] Ibid., p. 43.

The vision-complex is the largest and most basic concept of native American religion. It is more inclusive than the guardian spirit where both are found, and it is found in areas and among tribes where the guardian spirit has been reinterpreted out of existence.[1] According to Benedict's hypothesis, the guardian-spirit formulation of the vision experience formerly existed among the Pueblos but dwindled in favor of a group-ceremonial approach to the gods.[2] However, there are still present most of the elements associated with the vision-guardian-spirit complex over the rest of the continent:[3] (1) the attitude toward dreams; (2) practices used elsewhere for vision inducement but here for ceremonial cleanness; (3) involuntary vision or psychic experience, with power resulting from intimacy with some animal or man-being; and (4) sought visions.[4]

On the Plains contact from the Great Spirit comes almost exclusively through visions involving animal or other natural forms.[5] The guardian-spirit formulation is a very important part of the vision experience, but visions are also sought frequently without a guardian-spirit intermediary.[1] The universally recognized religious fact in North America is not a dogma or secondary explanation but a mystical experience validated by a religious thrill.[2] Success or failure is evident to the seeker.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 28. [2] Ibid., p. 40. [3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 36. [5] Ibid., p. 53; Walker, pp. 81, 120.

The content of the vision and the means of inducement follow tribal patterns. The vision-guardian-spirit concept on the Plains is characterized by the maturity of the suppliant, the sought vision (but it also occurs unsought), the torture, and the medicine bundle.[4]

Animals are the most commonly obtained guardian spirits, but guardian spirits may range from a demoniacal sort to those indistinguishable from gods.[5] The animals ordinarily appear in human form during the vision.[6] They give a song and a "power" and describe a memento to be carried as a token of the vision.[7] Benedict argues that, contrary to Radin's thesis, on the Plains guardian spirits and *genii loci* are kept distinct.[8]

A Cheyenne who goes out to the hills to lament may have some *maiyu* appear to him in his sleep. The spirit, which may appear in the form of bird, mammal, or person, becomes the lamenter's special protecting power, or secret helper. It advises him how to act, and might promise to help him. Some men have the power to call to them this secret helper, from whom they may ask advice or information, while many people are present in the lodge.[1]

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[1] Benedict, p. 29. [2] Ibid., p. 43. [3] Ibid., p. 25.
[4] Ibid., p. 16. [5] Ibid., pp. 48-49. [6] Ibid., p.16.
[7] Ibid. [8] Ibid., p. 46.

The guardian spirit endows the person with power which can be used. This allows him to procure food or supplies. It may give the recipient power in battle, hunting, leadership, healing, finding lost objects, or knowledge of what will happen. He can use the power for his benefit and the benefit of those around him. It varies tremendously in different cultural groups what spirit may be sought. The vision-guardian-spirit complex gives people a sense of influence over nature. A person's power does not depend on the physical power of the animal of his vision but on its characteristics. The source of knowledge of nature is dreams and visions, not trial and error.

Revealing a vision is in a sense destroying the power, but sometimes a person reveals it to someone else or to a small group to try to understand it better. Black Elk goes to great trouble to re-enact his vision to find out what the implications are for personal power. But only the person who has the vision receives the power. Power does not ordinarily come from just having the knowledge about someone else's vision. The Crow, however, developed the custom of selling power in medicine bundles.

Shamanism is one aspect of the vision quest. A shaman is looked on as having a different quantity of power rather than quality. They may have power to heal or to find lost objects or greater power over nature. Shamanism is power over nature as a result of the power that is achieved from visions or guardian spirits. A Lakota shaman can communicate with supernatural beings and interpret their wills.[1]

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[1] Grinnell, 2:113.

Much ritual comes from or is mystical experience. The sun dance was institutionalized from certain people's mystical experiences. Much native American ritual comes from visions. The kachina dance of the Pueblos is a different form from a Plains ceremony. The spirits of the kachinas manifested in the dancers constitute a group mystical experience.

North American religion is characterized by the conspicuousness of the vision experience and by the frequency of guardian spirits derived from that experience. Benedict demonstrates the basic importance of the vision by showing that even among the Pueblos with their genius for group ritualism, experiences of individual revelations are not entirely lacking. The vision itself is ubiquitous in North America, but the practices correlated with it vary considerably from tribe to tribe.[3]

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[1] Walker, p. 72.

[2] Benedict, p. 20; Robert H. Lowie, Primitive Religion (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924), p. 170.

[3] Lowie, Primitive Religion, p. 170.

Hierarchies of Power

There are hierarchies of power in the world having to do with the ability to control natural phenomena. The spirits, which can be contacted, hold the highest place and human beings generally the lowest place. These hierarchies of power are manifested in human behavior.

According to Sioux mythology animals were created before people. Because of their prior creation and divine origin animals have a certain proximity to Wakan-Tanka that requires respect and veneration. In them can be seen reflections of the qualities of the Great Spirit (Wakan-Tanka). They are intermediaries between people and Wakan-Tanka. This helps explain why religious devotions may be directed to the Great Spirit through animals, and contact with or from him comes almost exclusively through visions involving animal or other natural forms. Black Elk's power, for example, came from visions involving the eagle, buffalo, Thunderbeings, and horses.[1]

Black Elk explains how the animals are sacred and can teach us:

> [The person seeking a vision] must be alert to recognize any messenger which the Great Spirit may send to him, for these people often come in the form of an animal, even one as small and as seemingly insignificant as a little ant. . . . All these people [animals, winged people, ants, worms] are important, for in their own way they are wise and can teach us two-leggeds much if we make ourselves humble before them. The most important of all the creatures are the wingeds, for they are nearest to the heavens, and are

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[1] Brown, p. 17.

> not bound to the earth as are the four-leggeds, or the little crawling people.
>
> . . . It is not without reason that we humans are two-legged along with the wingeds; for you see the birds leave the earth with their wings, and we humans may also leave this world, not with wings, but in the spirit. This will help you to understand in part how it is that we regard all created beings as sacred and important, for everything has a wochangi or influence which can be given to us, through which we may gain a little more understanding if we are attentive.[1]

Walker offers a dissenting view: "Mankind is greater than animals."[2] However, "anything may be wakan [sacred] if a wakan spirit goes into it." Further,

> Every object in the world has a spirit and that spirit is wakan. Thus the spirit of the tree or of things of that kind, while not like the spirit of man, are (sic) also wakan.
>
> Wakan comes from the wakan beings. These wakan beings are greater than mankind in the same way that mankind is greater than animals. They are never born and never die. They can do many things that mankind cannot do. Mankind can pray to the wakan beings for help. There are many of these beings but all are of four kinds. The word Wakan Tanka means all the wakan beings because they are all as if one.[3]

Thus, for Walker too, wakan animals are an intermediary or link with the Great Spirit.

For the Cheyennes, Maheo shares his power with the Sacred Persons and the lesser Powers. They, in turn, are willing to apportion their wisdom and power among the Cheyennes.[4] The four Sacred Persons are friendly toward people. They are willing to share their control of nature and their wisdom concerning the working of things. However, the

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[1] Sacred Pipe, pp. 58-59. [2] P. 152.

[3] Walker, p. 152, by Sword, translated by Burt Means.

[4] Powell, 2:443.

Maheyuno (four Sacred Persons who live at the four directions) must be respected and propitiated through prayer, fasting, and especially sacrifice. Then one of the Maheyuno will appear in a vision or dream and will impart his supernatural protection and a share of his wisdom and power to the faster.[1] The lesser Maiyun (the Sacred Powers who live above and below the earth) may assume the forms of men, animals, birds, natural forces, or occasionally a young woman. The Sun is among the greatest of the Above Powers. His life-renewing power is continually sought, especially through the sun dance.[2] Thunder is also one of the strongest of the Above Powers. Thunder and Whirlwind are the protectors of the Cheyennes, their sacred ways, and the sacred arrow bundle.[3]

The Cheyennes have numerous beliefs concerning the type and degree of power held by various animal species.[4] For example, bears possess spiritual power. They are great medicine animals. They can heal themselves and other bears.[5] The buffalo is greatly reverenced.[6] Elk and deer have much power, which may be used for good or evil. The power of the antelope is all good.[6] Badgers are very powerful.[7] Coyotes are more sacred than wolves.[8] All birds have some power, and eagles, ravens, hawks, owls, and magpies possess power in matters concerning war. Their feathers are attached to shields.[1] The beaver is reverenced.[2] The skunk has power.[3] Lizards are helpers.[4] Newts or mud-puppies have power to cure leg-ache.[5] Most aquatic animals have some power.[6] A spider is a "medicine" animal.[7] A cricket was formerly used to determine the location of buffalo.[8] The dragonfly and the butterfly typify swiftness and activity and are used as war charms.[9] Formerly there were men who understood the speech of various animals and birds.[10]

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[1] Ibid., p. 435. [2] Ibid., p. 437. [3] Ibid., p. 438.

[4] Grinnell, 2:103-111. [5] Ibid., p. 105.

[6] Ibid., p. 103. [7] Ibid., p. 104. [8] Ibid., p. 105.

Because the spirits hold the highest place and humans a lower place in the hierarchy of power, pity is part of the vision quest. Vision-seekers fast, bathe in cold water, etc., to try to appear pitiful. In the sweatlodge before he goes to the mountain the lamenter cries to the Great Spirit, "Be merciful to me! Help me!"[11] On his way alone to the top of the mountain he removes moccasins and breech cloth--for, as Black Elk says, "If we really wish to 'lament' we must be poor in the things of this world,"--and he cries continually, "O Great Spirit, be merciful to me that my people may live."[12] When he reaches the place where the poles are set up, he prays in the four directions, "O

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid., p. 104. [3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 110. [5] Ibid., p. 111. [6] Ibid. [7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid. [9] Ibid., pp. 111-12. [10] Ibid., p. 107.

[11] Ibid. [12] Black Elk, Sacred Pipe, p. 54.

Wakan-Tanka, have pity on me, that my people may live!"[1]

The means employed to try to induce a vision experience were concentration, hunger, thirst, purgatives, and self-laceration. The Sioux and Cheyenne carried the self-laceration very far. Their custom was to cut off finger-joints, or to insert skewers through the flesh of the chest or back and tie these to a pole from which the suppliant tried to tear himself free. In this region where the vision was considered mainly an inducible experience, the phrase that described a supernatural experience was regularly "to be pitied by the spirits."[2]

The willingness to suffer in the Cheyenne sun dance gained the pity of the Sacred Powers. Then the suppliant would receive a full share in the new life that flowed from the ceremonies in the sun dance lodge. The sacrifice might be pledged to avert misfortune, to fulfill an earlier vow, or as a petition for Maheo's blessing upon one's relatives who are experiencing misfortune. Sometimes a Maiyun appeared in a dream or vision and instructed a person to offer sacrifice. Through the sacrifice of his body a man who was afraid of thunder could gain Thunder's pity and sometimes even a share in Thunder's supernatural power.[3]

Pueblo prayer in general is petition, asking for certain things in the right way.[4] In their prayers, "Zuñi do not humble themselves before the supernatural; they bargain with it."[1] Hopi bargain less in their prayers, which are concerned with people's state of mind and include an appeal to pity.[2]

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[1] Ibid. [2] Benedict, p. 27. [3] Powell, p. 301.

[4] Parsons, p. 311.

An example of the many verbal Hopi prayers is the following, used at the snake and flute ceremonies:

> Now we joyfully and encouraged are going to perform a ceremony here. May these clouds from the four world quarters have pity on us! May the rain-water meander through our fields and our crops! And then the corn, quickly having seeds, our children will eat, and they being satisfied, we shall also eat and be satisfied. And then after that it shall mature and we shall gather it in and put it up in our houses, and after that we shall eat and live on it. Therefore we are happy, and being strong shall perform this ceremony.[3]

Hopi sacrifice to the dead but, more importantly, to the deities. The first morsel at a feast is often set on one side, probably as a sacrifice.[4] When leaving or returning to a pueblo, a Hopi throws a stick or stone on a similar pile, especially at shrines of Masauwü, the god of the under world.[5] Bits of food are placed in the rafters of the house for Masauwü so that he may not hasten the departure of any of the family to the under world.[1] As late as 1892 there was a dog sacrifice at Sichumovi, and there may formerly have been a system of animal sacrifice. If such sacrifice still occurs, it is highly modified.[2] The Hopi deluge legend indicates a tradition of human sacrifice.[3]

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[1] Henry B. Voth, The Oraibi Marau Ceremony, Field Museum of Natural History Pub. 156, Anthropological Series, vol. 6, no. 2 (Chicago, 1905), pp. 21, 28.

[2] George A. Dorsey and Henry R. Voth, The Oraibi Soyal Ceremony, Field Columbian Museum of Natural History Pub. 55, Anthropological Series, vol. 3, no. 1 (Chicago, 1901), p. 213.

[3] J. Walter Fewkes, "A Few Summer Ceremonials at the Tusayan Pueblos," Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology 2 (1892): 29-30.

[4] J. Walter Fewkes, Journal of American Folk-Lore 10:195; Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology 4:41, note 1.

The baho, or prayer-stick, seems to be the medium between sacrifice and prayer. The prayer-stick and the prayer-feather are either "pay" or convey a request.[4] The prayer-feather may also render the wearer light by means of sympathetic magic.[5] The spirits come for their sticks or know when they are to be sent to them.[6] Prayer-sticks or feathers may possibly have in themselves some magical potency.[7] Prayers are said over the sticks while they are being made or set in place, and the Hopi see a medium between the one who prays and his god in the symbolism of color, components, etc., so that the prayer-sticks strengthen the verbal prayer and bear the petition in permanent form.[8] Bahos range from a few centimeters to one-half meter in length. They are often "male" and "female" bound together and are made of sprigs of willow or other trees and adorned with pine needles, feathers, etc., and painted. They are prepared with fasting and other purifications. They are placed in clefts in rocks or at sacred places or shrines, usually on certain ceremonial occasions and in honor of specific deities or by special societies.[1]

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[1] Mindeleff, Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, (Washington), p. 102.

[2] Fewkes, Journal of American Folk-Lore 10:189.

[3] Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, 1921, s.v. "Hopi," by Louis H. Gray.

[4] Parsons, 1:283, 291.

[5] Ibid., 1:291. [6] Ibid., p. 283. [7] Ibid.

[8] Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, s.v. "Hopi," by Gray.

Bahos, prayer-meal, and kachina dolls are regarded by Fewkes as substitutional sacrifice.[2] He thinks they are substitutes for the Aztec human sacrifice.[3] Sprinkling prayer-meal is even more associated with prayer than prayer-sticks or feathers.[4]

Prayer, sacrifice, and attempts to gain the spirits' pity are thus human responses to their lower position than other beings in regard to power over natural phenomena. These means are employed in people's attempts to make contact with the spiritual world.

Interrelationship of All Life in a Universal Harmony

Creation is a living, harmonious, dynamic unity composed of interrelated parts,[5] in which people participate. Nature is generally friendly in the thought of these tribes. Evil spirits known to the Cheyennes ordinarily offer danger only when they are treated disrespectively.[1] The Hopi know of few spirits malevolent by nature. On the whole, the Hopi spirits are well managed by rituals and gifts.[2] The Indian is part of an ordered, balanced, and living whole, of which all parts are related to one another by their participation in the whole of being.[3] Paula Allen described her understanding of the Indian concept of the harmony of the universe:

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[1] Ibid.; Parsons, pp. 270-85.

[2] J. Walter Fewkes, Reports on the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington) 16:297; Journal of American Folk-Lore 10:193.

[3] Ibid. [4] Parsons, 1:292. [5] Powell, 2:443.

> Because of the basic assumption of the wholeness or unity of the universe, our national and necessary relationship to all life is evident; all phenomena we witness, within or "outside" ourselves are, like us, intelligent manifestations of the intelligent Universe from which they arise as do all things of earth and the cosmos beyond. Thunder and rain are specialized aspects of this universe, as is the human race. And consequently the unity of the whole is preserved and reflected in language, literature, and thought.[4]

Nature generally friendly

Nature is generally friendly in the thought of these tribes.

The Cheyenne world is basically good. It is a living, harmonious, dynamic unity composed of interrelated parts. The source of that unity is Maheo. He shares his supernatural power with the Cheyennes through Mahuts, the sacred arrows. He also shares his power with the Sacred

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[1] Ibid., 2:439. [2] Parsons, 1:208.

[3] Paula Gunn Allen, "The Sacred Hoop: A Contemporary Indian Perspective on American Indian Literature," Cross Currents 26 (summer 1976): 148.

[4] Ibid., p. 149.

Persons and the lesser Powers, who, in turn, offer the Cheyennes abundant supernatural might and wisdom for their life.[1]

The Hopi see nature as essentially benevolent. Their cultural emphasis is on harmony and peace. Kiva ceremonies are essentially for maintaining that harmony. Pueblo spirits on the whole are well managed by rite or concept of participation, by mimetic ritual, and by ritual of gift or compensation. They may be paid to do harm and are potentially dangerous, but there are few spirits malicious or malevolent by nature.[2]

In the Indians' eyes the wilderness was not wild. Chief Luther Standing Bear of the Oglala band of Sioux points out how the Indians were at home with the earth in its natural state:

> We did not think of the great open plains, the beautiful rolling hills, and winding streams with tangled growth as "wild." Only to the white man was nature a "wilderness" and only to him was the land "infested" with "wild" animals and "savage" people. To us it was tame. Earth was bountiful and we were surrounded with the blessings of the Great Mystery. Not until the hairy man from the east came and with brutal frenzy heaped injustices upon us and the families we loved was it "wild" for us. When the very animals of the forest began fleeing from his approach, then it was that for us the "Wild West" began.[3]

Evil spirits

However, all is not entirely harmonious; there are evil spirits too. The Lakota Wakan Tanka, who is one, yet many, includes both benevolent and malevolent gods.[1] The malevolent gods are unsystematized, dissociated spirits that wander over the earth.[2] They are Iya or Ibom, whose form is that of a giant man and whose predominant property is his appetite; Gnaski, the demon, whose form is that of the bull buffalo and who may possess a person, causing insanity or paralysis; Monsters, whose forms are those of huge reptiles, who hide under the deep waters, who beat down forests with their tails and make deep ravines with their claws, who defile waters and capture people, and who are forever at war with the Winged God; Water Sprites, whose form is that of maggots, who cause things to rot, who lurk in the waters to seek entrance into human bodies, where they cause suffering or death; Forest Dwellers, or elves, who can assume the forms of beasts or birds, who wander in lonely places and bewilder people so that they cannot recognize directions and locations; goblins, who may appear like gibbering ghosts, who frighten timid people and children and cause distressing dreams; and manikins, who prowl at night and cause accidents.[3] The potency of all the malevolent gods can be made either operative or impotent by shamans.[4]

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[1] Powell, 2:442-43. [2] Parsons, 1:208.

[3] Chief Luther Standing Bear, p. xix.

The Cheyennes know of evil spirits called Havsevama'tasooma, who dwell on hills, high bluffs, in rivers, or beneath the waters of a deep lake or spring. If a Cheyenne trespasses upon the home of such a spirit, the evil spirit curses him with lingering sickness or even death. These evil spirits may assume various forms, such as an owl, a serpent, or a beautiful woman. If a Cheyenne must pass a place he fears, in order to placate the spirit that dwells there he offers a white cloth to the spirits of the day and a black one to the spirits of the night, which pleases the evil spirits, and the person is assured of protection in the future.[1]

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[1] Walker, p. 79. [2] Ibid., p. 88.

[3] Ibid., pp. 88-89. [4] Ibid., pp. 89-90.

The Cheyennes also believe there are under-water people and under-water monsters. Under-water people are like regular people. Under-water monsters are alarming, whether harmful or not. One under-water monster is the _mih'n'_, who is not necessarily harmful. If people treat the _mih'n'_ respectfully with prayer and sacrifices, they are likely to have good fortune, but if they do not, they will have bad luck. Some of these _mih'nio_ eat people who go into the water. The Thunderbird has at times killed some of the _mih'nio_.[2] Ahke, another under-water monster, lives in springs and is described as being like a bull.[3] The Shoshonis are said to have killed the harmful, powerful double-toothed bull, another monster that used to come into the camp and eat people.[1] Ghosts cause the Cheyennes some uneasiness, but they do not seem to do much actual harm.[2]

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[1] Powell, p. 440, from Henry Tall Bull, 1959; also Grinnell, 2:97-97, 126.

[2] Grinnell, 2:97.

[3] Ibid., 2:97n6; Walker, p. 89; Lowie, _Primitive Religion_, pp. 296-97.

The Hopi world is essentially benevolent. However, even though animals are relatives, they can cause sickness as well as cure it. They cause sickness by frightening people or, in the case of certain insects, by getting into a person's body.[3] Spirits can also both cause and cure disease, and they may be paid to do harm.[4] It is dangerous to be too close for too long to intense spiritual power. Water Serpent is a punitive and fearsome personage.[5] He controls flood, earthquake, and landslide, which are expressions of revenge or punishment, particularly for sexual misconduct, either promiscuous or unyielding.[6] The other trickiest spirits are the War Brothers; Lightning; Sandstorm: Moon, who may harm an unborn baby or kidnap an infant; Skeleton, or Masauwü, who may help an envious girl to introduce death; Shumaikoli, the kachina of blindness or deformity; Echo, who may be solicited to cause insanity; Twister, who enters the body and screws around until reaching the heart; and ghosts, against whom precautionary measures can be taken lest they toothed bull, another monster that used to come into the camp and eat people.[1] Ghosts cause the Cheyennes some uneasiness, but they do not seem to do much actual harm.[2]

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[1] Ibid., 2:99.

[2] Powell, pp. 439-440; Grinnell, 2:99-100.

[3] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, 1:191.

[4] Ibid., 1:208. [5] Ibid., p. 186. [6] Ibid., pp. 185-86.

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[1] Ibid., 2:99.

[2] Powell, pp. 439-440; Grinnell, 2:99-100.

[3] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, 1:191.

[4] Ibid., 1:208. [5] Ibid., p. 186. [6] Ibid., pp. 185-86.

A symbol of the relationship

A symbol that expresses the Plains Indian concept of the relationship between people and nature is a cross inscribed within a circle. The symbol is painted on a number of ritual objects and on the bodies and heads of ceremonial participants. The pattern is found in the sun dance, purification lodges, and many of the ritual movements.[4] An example is found in Black Elk's account of the making of the altar for the sun dance:

> Kablaya was then ready to make the sacred altar; but first he prayed.
>
> "O Grandfather, Wakan-Tanka, I shall now make this Your sacred place. In making this altar, all the birds of the air and all creatures of the earth will rejoice, and they will come from all directions to behold it! All the generations of my people will rejoice! This place will be the center of the paths of the four great Powers. The dawn of the day will see this holy place! When Your Light approaches, O Wakan-Tanka, all that moves in the universe will rejoice!"
>
> A pinch of the purified earth was offered above and to the ground and was then placed at the center of the sacred place. Another pinch of earth was offered to the west, north, east, and south and was placed at the west of the circle. This earth represents the two-leggeds, the four-leggeds, the wingeds, and really all that moves, and all that is in the

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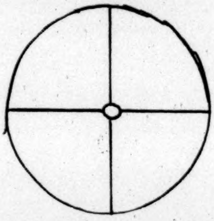
[1] Ibid., 1:208-9. [2] Ibid., p. 208. [3] Ibid., p. 209.

[4] Brown, p. 13.

> universe. Upon this sacred place Kablaya then began to construct the altar. He first took up a stick, pointed it to the six directions, and then, bringing it down, he made a small circle at the center; and this we understand to be the home of Wakan-Tanka. Again, after pointing the stick to the six directions, Kablaya made a mark starting from the west and leading to the edge of the circle. In the same manner he drew a line from the east to the edge of the circle, from the north to the circle, and from the south to the circle. By constructing the altar in this manner, we see that everything leads into, or returns to, the center; and this center which is here, but which we know is really everywhere, is Wakan-Tanka.[1]



Black Elk explains why a circle has power. Everything an Indian does is in a circle because the Power of the World always works in circles, and everything tries to be round. The sky is round. The earth and stars were round like a ball. The wind, in its greatest power, whirls. Birds make round nests, "for theirs is the same religion as ours."[2] The sun and moon are round and rise and set in a circle. The seasons form a great circle in their changing. The life of a person is a circle from childhood to childhood. In the old days all the Oglalas' power came from the sacred hoop of the nation. As long as it was unbroken, Black Elk says, the people flourished. The flowering tree was the living center of the hoop, and the circle of the four quarters nourished the flowering tree. "The east gave peace and light, the south gave warmth, the west gave rain, and the north with its cold and mighty wind gave strength and endurance." This knowledge came to the Oglalas from the outer world with their religion, according to Black Elk. Their tepees were round like the nests of birds and were always set in a circle, "the nation's hoop, a nest of many nests, where the Great Spirit meant for us to hatch our children."[1]

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[1] The Sacred Pipe, pp. 89-90. [2] Black Elk Speaks, p. 199.

At the center of the cross of the four directions of space and all the other quaternaries of the universe stands Wakan-Tanka. A person bears within himself this sacred center.[2] Black Elk says, "Peace . . . comes within the souls of men when they realize their relationship, their oneness with the universe and all its powers, and when they realize that at the center of the Universe dwells Wakan-Tanka, and that this center is really everywhere, it is within each of us."[3] This sacred center in the individual may be obtained through the sun dance, which also strengthens the hoop of the nation and creates a closer relationship with all things of the universe.[4] Concerning the sun dance Paula Allen writes, "Through purification, participation, sacrifice, and supplication, the participants act as instruments or transmitters of increased power and wholeness (which works itself out in terms of health and prosperity) from Wakan Tanka."[1] The sun dance might be seen as a communal vision quest.[2] Black Elk indicates that the human voice in prayer connects the four Powers, Heaven, and Earth to Wakan-Tanka.[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Brown, p. 14; Black Elk, The Sacred Pipe, p. 115.

[3] The Sacred Pipe, p. 115.

[4] Ibid., pp. 99-100.

The symbol is used somewhat differently when Black Elk speaks of the crossing of the red road and the black road in the circle as a significant point. The red road runs north and south and is the good or straight way because for the Sioux the north is purity and the south is the source of life. The black road runs east and west and is the path of error and destruction. The traveler on this path is, Black Elk says, "one who is distracted, who is ruled by his senses, and who lives for himself rather than for his people."[4]

Black Elk describes the roads in his account of his great vision:

> Then when he [the fourth Grandfather] had been still a little while to hear the birds sing, he spoke again: "Behold the earth!" So I looked down and saw it lying yonder like a hoop of peoples, and in the center bloomed the holy stick that was a tree, and where it stood there crossed two roads, a red one and a black. "From where the giant lives (the north) to where you always face (the south) the red road goes, the road of good," the Grandfather said, "and on it shall your nation walk. The black road goes from where the thunder beings live (the west) to where the sun continually shines (the east), a fearful road, a road of troubles and of war. On this also you shall walk,

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[1] "The Sacred Hoop," p. 150.

[2] Ibid. [3] Sacred Pipe, p. 82.

[4] Quoted in Sacred Pipe, p. 7n, source not given.

> and from it you shall have the power to destroy a people's foes. In four ascents you shall walk the earth with power."[1]

Concerning the center he says:

> In my great vision, when I stood at the center of the world, the two men from the east had brought me the daybreak-star herb and they had told me to drop it on the earth; and where it touched the ground it took root and bloomed four-rayed. It was the herb of understanding. Also, where the red man of my vision changed into a bison that rolled, the same herb grew and bloomed when the bison had vanished, and after that the people in my vision found the good red road again. Maybe if I could see the great world of the Wasichu, I could understand how to bring the sacred hoop together and make the tree to bloom again at the center of it.
>
> I looked back on the past and recalled my people's old ways, but they were not living that way any more. They were traveling the black road, everybody for himself and with little rules of his own, as in my vision. I was in despair, and I even thought that if the Wasichus had a better way, then maybe my people should live that way. I know now that this was foolish, but I was young and in despair.[2]

Black Elk's symbol is like the other but emphasizes the circle as the hoop of the nation rather than as the universe. The center is where the good and bad roads cross, where the herb of understanding grows, indicating that understanding is the key to switching from the bad to the good road. The individual, the nation represented by a tree, the herb of understanding in Black Elk's vision, and Wakan Tanka can all occupy the center of the circle because the center of the universe, where Wakan Tanka dwells, is really everywhere and is the individual's and the nation's center too when they are on the good red road and understand where their center is. They travel on the good red road when they thrive and help each other and on the black road when they do not thrive and each person lives for himself with his own rules. When they are traveling on the black road, the hoop of the nation is broken, and the tree is withered. When the hoop of the nation is broken, it is not a circle and thus lacks power. "The circle of the nation's hoop . . . is holy, being endless, and thus all powers shall be one power in the people without end."[1]

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[1] Black Elk Speaks, p. 29. [2] Ibid., p. 219.

In contrast to the round world of the Sioux, the Hopi world is square, i.e., four-cornered. The Pueblo Indians believe the pueblo itself represents the human center. At the center of the pueblo in the court the sipapu represents the earth navel, from which power originates. Cultivated fields around the pueblo represent a certain kind of power. Outside of the cultivated fields uncultivated land is part of the spirits' world. For most of the Pueblos, including the Hopi, four sacred places define the boundaries of the world, from which the spirits come. The Pueblo world may be symbolized by concentric squares or rectangles.[2]

The Pueblos also use the symbol of the cross, as do the Plains Indians.[3] Near the center of a field a Zuñi planter digs four holes in the four directions plus two more to represent the zenith and the nadir. He sprinkles a cross of meal in the center to represent the cardinal points and the stars that will watch over his field by night. At the intersection of the cross he plants his prayer-stick and sprinkles more prayer-meal. While chanting, he drops in each hole seed corn of the proper color-direction, grain that has been wrapped with the prayer-stick, and three other grains. Then he covers the grains and plants rows far out in the field in lines corresponding to the directions of the four hills. For four days he fasts, remains continent, and prays at sunrise by the riverside. If every kernel in the ritual corn hills radiating from the prayer-stick sprouts, it is an omen that the crop will be productive. If any of any color do not sprout, part of the crop of that color will fail.

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[1] Ibid., p. 35.

[2] Ortiz, The Tewa World, pp. 18-25.

[3] Frank Hamilton Cushing, Zuñi Breadstuff, Indian Notes and Monographs, vol. 8 (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1920), pp. 168-79, 193, 195.

The circle, the cross, and the square all symbolize the interrelationship of the spiritual and natural worlds, people, and all things in the whole of being.

Human interrelationships

Included within the idea of the interrelationship of all life is the interrelationship of human life as an essential part of the Indian world view. Each individual is important, but his importance is to the welfare of the group. The individual does not deal with nature entirely alone (even where the individual vision is practiced the

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power deriving from it is partly "so that our nation might live") but is dependent on his group, which in turn is dependent on nature. Indian knowledge derives not from the self but from the knowledge of spiritual forces of nature. The complementary forces of human beings and nature are kept in mind. Nature provides when people are respectful, and people are able to generate or balance forces of nature through group ceremony and the vision quest. Survival is personal rather than impersonal, and interpersonal rather than individual.

Black Elk laments, "They were traveling the black road, everybody for himself and with little rules of his own, as in my vision," when the hoop of the nation was broken.[1] He also speaks of the Wasichus' not caring for each other in conjunction with their forgetting that the earth was their mother:

> I did not see anything [in New York] to help my people. I could see that the Wasichus did not care for each other the way our people did before the nation's hoop was broken. They would take everything from each other if they could, and so there were some who had more of everything than they could use, while crowds of people had nothing at all and maybe were starving. They had forgotten that the earth was their mother. This could not be better than the old ways of my people. There was a prisoner's house on an island where the big water came up to the town, and we saw that one day. Men pointed guns at the prisoners and made them move around like animals in a cage. This made me feel very sad, because my people too were penned up in islands, and maybe that was the way the Wasichus were going to treat them.
>
> In the spring it got warmer, but the Wasichus had even the grass penned up.[2]

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[1] Black Elk Speaks, p. 219. [2] Ibid., p. 221.

Individuals' vision may bring strength to the nation.[1] Black Elk's vision was for his nation:

> And now when I look about me upon my people in despair, I feel like crying and I wish and wish my vision could have been given to a man more worthy. I wonder why it came to me, a pitiful old man who can do nothing. Men and women and children I have cured of sickness with the power the vision gave me; but my nation I could not help. If a man or woman or child dies, it does not matter long, for the nation lives on. It was the nation that was dying, and the vision was for the nation; but I have done nothing with it.[2]

The favor that is asked of Wakan Tanka in return for the suffering and sacrifice of the sun dance is "that their people may walk the holy path of life and that they may increase in a sacred manner," according to Black Elk.[3] All ceremonies create and support the sense of community--tribal and universal--that is the bedrock of tribal life.[4]

In the eastern pueblos sharing of food at critical rites, such as birth ceremonies, initiations, marriage, death, and sickness, and at time-dependent rituals is essential to survival in that it assures everybody will have enough in a very variable environment and in a society in which there is only a slight surplus in the food supply. The ritual structure that promotes exchange of food promotes subsistence. There is a great deal of variability in the success of individual farmers. The mechanisms of the society have to provide for an equal distribution of food. It can be considered part of the ecology. Because of the variability, society takes care of the redistribution through its religious system. It is carried out partly through moieties, the summer people and the winter people, a division of society that provides a mechanism for exchange. At all these ceremonies the people eat and then if there is some left over, they take it home. Or sometimes they are paid in food for services rendered. In this egalitarian society the people themselves are responsible for distribution of goods rather than a welfare department. The family might scrimp on their own food to have enough for a ceremony. The main purpose of the yearly cycle of time-dependent rituals is to insure the fertility of the land and thus to establish ecological balance between people and nature. These rituals and the critical rites also establish material equilibrium among the people of the pueblo through the food redistribution. The idea of human interrelationships is an important part of the eastern Pueblo world view.[1] The Hopi, too, circulate goods throughout the pueblo continuously by such means as throwing corn meal on a kachina, throwing gifts by kachina or war dancers, and other regulations of goods and services.[2]

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[1] Black Elk, Sacred Pipe, p. 66: "Then he may receive some great vision that will bring strength to the nation."

[2] Black Elk, Black Elk Speaks, p. 184.

[3] Sacred Pipe, p. 97. [4] Allen, p. 151.

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[1] Richard I. Ford, "An Ecological Perspective on the Eastern Pueblos," in Ortiz, ed., New Perspectives on the Pueblos, pp. 8-14.

[2] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, 2:1151.

Attitude toward material possessions and wealth

Although sharing of goods is part of the idea of human interrelationships, and Indians are aware of being part of a social and universal harmony, they nevertheless have a positive attitude toward the accumulation of material possessions. This should, however, be viewed from the perspective of their material poverty as compared with the mainstream of American society.

Hopi think it is acceptable to want money. Two of Brandt's Hopi informants (whose credentials are not stated) gave an "O.K." response and four a favorable response to the trait, pas siva naawakna, "after money," "longing for money." One said, "Maybe you need it; there's nothing else to buy with." Another, "The one thing we like to have, to buy something--food, clothing." "We all like money nowadays." "I'm that way; I want money. You have to go out and work for it, stay on the job." "We want money; we buy things with it." "That's what we're living on today." Some Hopi, however, disapprove of the present concern for material goods. Chief Tawaqwaptiwa told his people not to be concerned solely with material prosperity. One informant said "Material goods lead into something bad, e.g., dishonesty. This is turning away from the original Hopi beliefs." Brandt suggests from his observation that this sentiment was on the purely verbal level, but he is not clear whether he means for this individual or for the people as a whole.[1]

Some Hopi individuals and families are considerably better off economically than others, having relatively large and modern houses, a radio, perhaps a truck, food of good quality, and relatively expensive and unworn clothing.[2] There have been differences in the sizes of sheep holdings since they were introduced around 1700, and even before that some families had larger corn reserves than others.[3]

The Hopi look up to a materially prosperous person. Many Hopi energetically improve their situation by such means as building more modern houses.[4] They are proud of the progress they or their relatives make: "My father was always weaving and always bought things from it."[5] Hopi favor an ambitious and industrious young man for a future son-in-law. But Brandt found no spirit of competition in their desire to increase their prosperity.[6]

Persons who know secrets are persons of property in Pueblo opinion, and are highly respectable.[7] Houses and ritual property seem to be the source of Pueblo clanship.[8]

Pueblo spirits also like material possessions. They like feathers, precious shell or turquoise, food, and in some cases rabbit sticks, gaming implements, or weapons.[1]

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[1] Brandt, p. 134. Brandt's field work was conducted between 1946 and 1948.

[2] Brandt made this observation between 1946 and 1948.

[3] Brandt, p. 27. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid., p. 123.

[6] Ibid., pp. 27-28.

[7] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 1160.

[8] Ibid., p. 1159.

By remaining comparatively sedentary and by destroying merely samples of persons' property at their death, Pueblos have released energy, which would otherwise be spent on restoring property, for elaborating their social organization and their ritual arts. Various North American Indian tribes limit the accumulation of property leading to personal distinction and away from communal service or solidarity by means of the widespread practice of contributing to ceremonial or family feasts or of "throwing away" goods to establish respect or status. This occurs continuously but unspectacularly among Pueblos in various forms, from sprinkling corn meal on a kachina to throwing gifts by dancers. Every household is continuously requisitioned for goods or services on pain of loss of standing or personal misfortunes. Also, any persons with a conspicuous accumulation of property would be envied and harrassed by witches or be suspected of witchcraft themselves. There can be no change dependent upon private capital, such as a privately owned flour mill or threshing machine.[2] But the throw-away or food exchange circulates goods among the people of the pueblo. Not much property is actually destroyed for the gods.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 206.

[2] Santa Ana has a community-owned threshing machine that is free to all.

[3] Parsons, pp. 1150-51.

Plains Indians pray for possessions and success. The following Crow prayer to the Sun may be considered typical:

> Hallo, Old Man, I am poor! You see me, give me something good. Give me long life; grant that I may own a horse, that I capture a gun, that I strike a blow against the enemy! Let me become a chief, let me own plenty of property![1]

The accumulation of wealth on the Plains was tied to the system of status achievement. Status achievement rested on success in warfare, by which means horses and goods were obtained. For most Plains tribes the significance of wealth was that the wealthy man was necessarily a successful warrior. Among successful Teton Sioux warriors accumulated wealth served mainly as a vehicle for validating status through generosity in distributing gifts. The Kiowa, richer in horses than the Teton, developed economic classes. The desire for goods from raiding and the motivation to improve one's social status were both important motives contributing to the emphasis placed on warfare by Plains tribes.[2]

Nature provides when people are respectful, even when overkilled

In this interrelationship of all life nature provides material possessions when people are respectful.

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[1] Lowie, Primitive Religion, p. 4.

[2] Elden Johnson in Robert F. Spencer, Jesse D. Jennings, et al., The Native Americans: Prehistory and Ethnology of the North American Indians (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965), pp. 382-83.

There is not a sense of conserving limited resources but a sense of maintaining the proper relationship with the spirits.[1] The idea of limitation of natural resources is not present, only that the spirits would be angry if treated in a disrespectful manner. Nature is seen as all-giving and all-abundant as long as a proper relationship is maintained.

Mass kill techniques were used on the Plains from ten thousand years ago until 1872 A.D.[2] In light of this practice, which is certainly wasteful by modern sporting standards, Indians cannot be labeled "conservationists."[3] Roe points out, however, that the concepts of both waste and conservation are modern and not Plains Indian concepts. The Indian concept of the buffalo as a game animal was that it was created for satisfying all human needs, and there would be adequate supplies as long as people remained in tune with the supernatural.

In the case of individual animals or small groups Indians commonly carefully stalked the prey. For larger groups of animals there were several methods of slaughter *en masse*. The "still-hunt," requiring high-power repeating firearms, does not appear to have been practiced much by Indians.[4] The three principal methods of slaughter *en masse* employed by Indians were "buffalo running"; the "surround" on the open plain; and "impounding," which was driving or decoying between converging barriers into a pen or "pound" or over a cliff or "cut-bank," the latter called a "jumping-pound."[1]

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[1] Roe.

[2] Jennings in Spencer, Jennings, et al., *The Native Americans*, p. 35.

[3] Ibid. [4] Roe, pp. 629-30.

Buffalo-running had a chance of becoming wasteful only with experts. Some have been recorded. Muddy Bull in 1864 killed seven buffaloes "within 50 square feet of ground, and that with an old pot-metal flint-lock gun, muzzle-loading and single-barrelled. I have seen him with the same gun . . . at full gallop over a rough country, knock three buffaloes down one after another, almost as fast as an ordinary hunter would with a Winchester." He could even pick his game.[2] Another Indian was recorded in 1862 as killing sixteen buffaloes with seventeen arrows.[3]

The "surround" was used whenever there was neither time nor material for erecting a pound.[4] The hunters would enclose a small herd or part of a large herd by running or riding round and round, heading the animals toward the center so that they could not see anywhere to run for freedom. The animals were killed with arrows and lances, perhaps with the earlier victims forming a ring of slain around the remainder.[1] Catlin records a surround at the Teton River in Dakota before his arrival in 1832. Five hundred or more Sioux attacked an "immense herd" on horseback and returned to the post (apparently Fort Pierre) at sunset with 1400 fresh buffalo tongues. For these they received a few gallons of whisky. From what Catlin could learn no skins nor meat was saved, other than the tongues.[2] In this case and in others[3] it is stated that every single animal was killed. But Buffalo Jones wrote concerning a Pawnee surround of "at least two thousand head" in 1872:

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[1] Ibid., p. 629.

[2] McDougall, Saddle, Sled, and Snowshoe, p. 119.

[3] John McDougall, Forest, Lake, and Prairie, (orig. ed., 1895); Toronto, 1910, p. 144.

[4] Roe, p. 630.

> After the Indians had departed, I counted up their day's work. I had supposed, of course, from their demonstration and hurrahs, I would find at least a hundred dead Buffaloes, but imagine my disgust when the total numbered only forty-one![4]

Henry Kelsey in 1691 also writes of the escape of a number of animals as being ordinary. However, it is possible that inferior weapons or lack of proficiency may be the explanation in Kelsey's case.[5] Roe concludes that some of the claims of total annihilation are doubtful.[6]

Impounding involved a considerable amount of preparation in building the pound and laying out the markers and in the performance of propitiatory rites, which were considered highly beneficial or indispensable. In the case of the "jumping-pound" no enclosure needed to be built. Lewis and Clark noted a "jumping-pound":

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[1] Roe, p. 631. [2] Catlin, 1:256. [3] Ibid., 1:199-200.

[3] Catlin, 1:199-200; Elliott Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Henry-Thompson Journals (1799-1814)*, 3 vols. (New York, 1897), 1:336.

[4] C. J. Jones, *Buffalo Jones' Forty Years of Adventure*, ed. Henry Inman (London, 1899), pp. 97-102.

[5] Roe, p. 636. [6] Ibid.

> Today we passed on the Star'd side of the remains of . . . many mangled carcases of Buffalow which had been driven over a precipice of 120 feet by the Indians and perished; the water appeared to have washed away a part of this immence[sic] pile of slaughter and still there remained the fragments of at least a hundred carcases, they created a most horrid stench.[1]

C. N. Bell writes:

> I saw another buffalo trap in the form of a high steep cut bank over which the buffalo were driven to pile up at the bottom dead and dying. The piles of skulls and bones at the foot of the cut bank must have represented tens of thousands of animals.[2]

Dodge notes the practice among the Sioux and Pawnees.[3]

There is considerable evidence that occultism was used in impounding. A fairly acceptable "Sioux Calendar" of 1799-1870 records for the year 1810-11, "The 'Black Stone' band of Sioux made medicine with a white buffalow cow."[4] Also in 1811 H. M. Brackenridge observed on the Missouri the remains of a Sioux "medicine lodge," where rites "for making the buffalo plenty" had been performed.[1] Maximilian observed a pile of buffalo skulls near Fort Pierre in South Dakota: "We are told that this was a medicine or charm, contrived by the Sioux Indians in order to entice the herds of buffaloes."[2] Sometimes the practice of calling the buffalo was semi-private or personal rather than a public ceremonial at stated seasons.[3] Parkman mentions an old Sioux "consulting an oracle" to locate the absent buffalo.[4] Lewis and Clark knew of a Sioux chief named "Buffalo Medicine," Tartongawaka.[5] Catlin says cynically that the rites and incantations continue until the buffalo do come, and thus the medicine men "never fail."[6] This has also been observed with other game animals.[7] Some observers concluded that impounding was "partly occultism, partly skill, dexterity, knowledge of buffalo."[8] Other observers presumably ascribe the decoying or driving of herds to skill alone, omitting other possible influences.[1]

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[1] Lewis and Clark Journal, ed. Covers, quoted in Spencer, Jennings, et al., The Native Americans, p. 35.

[2] Charles N. Bell, The Journal of Henry Kelsey, 1691-1692 (Winnipeg: Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1928), p. 24.

[3] Our Wild Indians, pp. 291, 577. For a list of sources on buffalo pounds, see Roe, pp. 880-82.

[4] Dodge, p. 401.

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[1] Henry M. Brackenridge, Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri, 1811, ed. R. G. Thwaites, Early Western Travels, vol. 6 (Cleveland, 1904), p. 109.

[2] Maximilian, Prince of Wied, Travels in the Interior of North America, 1833-1834, ed. R. G. Thwaites, Early Western Travels, vol. 22 (Cleveland, 1906), p. 318.

[3] Roe, p. 731.

[4] Parkman, Oregon Trail, pp. 257,579.

[5] Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, Journals of the Expedition of 1804-1806, 3 vols, ed. J. B. McMaster, American Explorers, vol. 1 (New York, 1922), pp. 130, 150.

[6] Letters on the North American Indians, 1:127.

[7] See Roe, p. 732.

[8] Sir John Franklin, Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1819, 1820, 1821, and

Although there is considerable evidence that Indians did waste buffalo and other game by mass-kill techniques, some writers give evidence that Indians did not waste buffalo. Pierre Esprit Radisson, apparently describing the "fourth journey" of Groseilliers and himself immediately west of the Great Lakes notes in his Journal: "This place hath a great store of Cows. . . . The wild men [sauvages] kill not except for necessary use."[2] Father Hennepin implies the same:

> These Bulls being very convenient for the Subsistence of the Savages, they take care not to Scare them from their Country; and they pursue only those whom they have wounded with their arrows. But these Creatures multiply in such a manner, that notwithstanding the great Numbers they kill every Year, they are as numerous as ever.[3]

Edwin James says of the southern Plains tribes in 1820: "Every eatable part of the animal is carried to the camp and

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1822 (London, 1825), p. 112. See also Paul Kane, Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America, ed. L. J. Burpee (Toronto: Radisson Society, 1925), p. 80; De Smet, Life, Letters, and Labours, 3:1025-32; John Macoun, Manitoba and the Great North West (Guelph, Ont., 1882), p. 344; McDougall, Saddle, Sled, and Snowshoe, pp. 271-82; H. M. Crittenden, The History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West, 3 vols., (New York, 1902), 2:812. For further references to occultism in impounding, see Roe, pp. 882-84.

[1] Again see Roe, pp. 882-84.

[2] George Bryce, The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company (Toronto, 1904), p. 6.

[3] Louis Hennepin, A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, 2 vols. (orig. ed., 1683; Chicago, 1903), 1:149.

preserved, excepting the feet and the head."[1] In 1850 R. B. Mercy writes of the buffalo in the same area: "Their only enemy then was the Indian, who supplied himself with food and clothing from the immense herds around his door; but would have looked upon it as sacrilege to destroy more than barely sufficient to supply the wants of his family."[2] Dodge writes, "Even when the buffalo were plentiful, they were carefully protected by the Middle Plains tribes."[3] Similar opinions were expressed in Congress.[4] Parkman wrote concerning his guide and friend, who was apparently a half-breed:

> Henry knew all their peculiarities, he had studied them as a scholar studies his books. . . . Nothing excited his indignation so much as any wanton destruction committed among the cows, and in his view shooting a calf was a cardinal sin.[5]

At one place Hornaday accuses the Indians of being "too lazy and shiftless to cure such meat,"[6] and at another place writes:

> The "great fall hunt" was a regular event with prac-

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[1] John Long, Voyages and Travels, 1768-1782, ed. R. G. Thwaites, Early Western Travels, vol. 14 (Cleveland, 1904), p. 301.

[2] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana, in the Year 1852 (Washington, 1954), p. 104.

[3] P. 576. The Middle Plains tribes are the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, perhaps also Kiowas and Commanches (Roe, p. 656).

[4] See Hornaday, pp. 513-21; also Roe, pp. 804-816.

[5] Oregon Trail, p. 425.

[6] P. 499.

> tically all of the Indian tribes living within striking distance of the buffalo. In the course of this great numbers of buffalo were killed, great quantities of meat dried and made into pemmican, and all the skins were tanned in various ways to suit the many purposes they were called upon to serve.[1]

A huge amount of buffalo meat was destroyed by U. S. troops. In a Sioux camp of "not less than 400 lodges," 400,000 or 500,000 pounds of meat was destroyed in September 1863.[2] Jenness, a modern authority on Indians, holds that they were not wasteful because no conservation of game was necessary, and they were not improvident; they stored food when available and practicable.[3]

There were both psychological and practical reasons for slaughtering an entire herd. An entire herd might be destroyed lest some escape and warn other herds of the dangers of the pound.[4] It would have been impracticable or unsafe to enter the pound to secure the meat while there were still live buffaloes in the pound.[5] In the case of jumping-pounds, the animals killed or maimed themselves in the jump. It would not have been possible to divide a small herd in the open or to cause only part of them to stampede.[1] The mass-slaughter may have become less important among the Plains tribes after they began to use horses.[2]

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[1] P. 477. Cf. Dodge, p. 387.

[2] Dodge, p. 476. For more sources see Roe, p. 658 n321.

[3] Diamond Jenness, The Indians of Canada, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 15 (Ottawa, 1932), pp. 49-50.

[4] McDougall, Saddle, Sled, and Snowshoe, p. 282; Coues, ed., Henry-Thompson Journals, 1:336.

[5] Dr. Hector pointed this out in his account of a pound near Vermilion. John Palliser et al., Journals, Detailed Reports, and Observations, relative to Palliser's Exploration of British North America, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1960, (Parliamentary Blue Book (London, 1863), pp. 70-71. See also John James Audubon and John Bachman, The Quadrupeds of North America 2 vols. (New York, 1854), 2:49-50.

Although Indians did practice wasteful mass-killing techniques as part of their hunting, they were sometimes necessary, and "waste" and "conservation" were lesser considerations than maintaining the proper relationship with spirits, which would ensure the continuation of game, even when it was overkilled.

Summary

The universe is a living, harmonious, interrelated unity, in which nature is generally friendly, and evil spirits can ordinarily be managed. A cross inscribed within a circle symbolizes for the Plains Indians the wholeness and interrelatedness of the universe and the centrality of Wakan-Tanka, who should also be the center of the person and the tribe. The interrelationship of people within the tribe or pueblo is also essential. The accumulation of material possessions is valued within certain limits, beyond which, in accordance with the interrelationship of people, redistribution within the community is required, which also validates the person's status. Nature provides as long as peo-

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[1] Roe, pp. 648-49.

[2] John C. Ewers, "The Last Bison Drives of the Blackfoot Indians," Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, 39 (November, 1949): 355-60.

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ple maintain a proper relationship with the spirits, even when game is overkilled. Nature as such is not "managed" but rather dealt with on personal terms because it is a vast living interrelationship, which includes spirits and people.

Influence of Ritual and Mysticism on Harmony of Nature

In accordance with the interrelationship of all things people are able to generate or balance forces of nature by means of ceremonies or mystical experiences. People and nature are complementary forces, even while spirits have higher power. But there must be proper balance and relationship.

People affect nature

The native American world view is an essentially mystical relationship between humans and spiritual forces in nature. Ceremonialism is a manifestation of this relationship. Influence over natural phenomena can be achieved by human beings by means of ritualized observances or mystical experiences. Magic implies personal involvement in nature. It is a tradition of Indian thought to look at people and nature as ongoing process and to appeal to spirits rather than science. In some cases in order for things to happen people must perform certain actions. The ceremonials initiate the occurrence in nature. Without the ceremonial the things would not happen. It takes the ceremonial to bring about balance and harmony because people and nature are complementary. The spirits of the kachinas manifested in the dancers constitute group mystical experience that ensures that the whole balance of nature will be continued. Personal force influences nature as mechanical or scientific means do in contemporary American culture. Both Pueblo and Plains Indians pray and have ceremonies for the continued well-being of nature.

The Hopi pursue their role as guardians of all the land by performing ceremonies that will ensure that nature will work in balance with people. Pueblo religion is a means of controlling the natural through the supernatural. The method is largely magical through ritual acts and offerings. Another part of the method is conceptual control, classifying and interpreting their world to make it controllable, such as conceiving of weather phenomena as anthromorphic spirits.[1]

In Hopi mythology Masauwü, whom they now sometimes call the Great Spirit, was living here with Spider Woman and two nephews. The Hopi got permission to live here provided that they live humbly, following Masauwü's life plan. The Hopi were appointed by Masauwü to be the keepers of the altar which represents all land and life on this earth. The Hopi pursue their role as guardians of all the land by performing ceremonies in the kivas and plazas that will ensure that nature will work in balance with people. These ceremonies are reflections of the teachings of Masauwü that the Hopi received at the time of emergence from the lower world. Their prayers and ceremonies keep all things well and healthy, the natural forces together.

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[1] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, 1:x-xi, 486.

The major religious and magical categories the rites fall into are offerings to the spirits in payment for favorable weather, fertility, health, and longevity; control of conditions through mimetic magic, including foreknowledge; and cleansing or secularizing. A ceremony is a congeries of such rites. More or less esoteric techniques of restraint, concentration, offerings, mimetic behavior, prayer, and song by the chiefs or doctors are followed by spectacular procession, race, or dance, in which the co-operation of other groups is solicited. The purposes of all Pueblo ceremonial are rainfall or snowfall, stilling the wind, prediction of the coming season, abundance of crops, animals, or children, cure of disease, and longevity.[1]

Pueblo dancing is to honor chiefs or spirits in entertainment, or it is a form of compulsive mimetic magic, setting an example to rain-maker or crop-bringing or curing spirits; or it conveys a message to beings underground, as in the Oraibi Oaqöl ceremony to the gods of growth.[2]

Ceremonial smoking for rain occurs during many public ceremonials and kiva activities. Meetings of societies are called for the purpose of smoking whenever the season threatens to be poor.[1] Smoking feeds the clouds. It is a mimetic rite something like praying for rain; it is trying to get rain.[2] Fewkes describes smoking as "a ceremonial religious custom; the pipe is the O´-mow-uh (cloud-god), and the smoke the rain cloud."[3] He amplifies: "The smoke carries the prayer from the chief; it transfers the wish of the smoker to the object; moreover, it is a cloud, and is symbolically efficacious in bringing that which clouds produce --rain."[4]

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[1] Ibid., 2:553.

[2] Ibid., 1:384.

Water-pouring is also a mimetic rite for rain. Urine is poured on clowns sometimes. Daubing with mud is also a rain prayer.[5] The drenching with water and filth in the course of the Wüwüchimti ceremony is probably a rain-charm.[6] It is common to douse a man with water before he sets out on his first day's planting to ensure sufficient water in his fields.[7]

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[1] Forde, p. 399.

[2] From Crow-Wing; Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p.370.

[3] Fewkes, Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology, 2:124.

[4] J. Walter Fewkes, "Minor Hopi Festivals," American Anthropologist, n.s., 4 (1902): 504n2; cf. 3:222, 445.

[5] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, pp. 375-76.

[6] J. Walter Fewkes, Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History, 26:436, 448.

[7] Forde, p. 399.

Running as a component of ceremonials is always an expression of mimetic magic, to assist in the movement of Sun and Moon, to speed up the Clouds, or to hasten the growth of crops.[1] Stephen says the kick-ball race helps to bring rain.[2]

Kachinas may dance to entertain, but their purpose is primarily rain-making.[3] The kachinas are present in the dancers. The kachinas are the motivating force behind the growth of plants, the coming of rain, etc.

On the whole, the bargain with all the gods, if kept, is greatly to the advantage of the human beings.[4] In return for prayer-sticks sprinkled with corn meal and deposited monthly a Zuñi Wood society man prays for abundant blessings:

> This day, my fathers,
> Taking your plume wand,
> Your prayer-meal,
> With your waters,
> Your seeds,
> Your riches,
> Your long life,
> Your old age,
> With all your good fortune
> You will bless us.[5]

Magico-religious practices are important at every stage in crop cultivation, and ceremonial activities throughout the year nearly always have some reference to agricultural prosperity. There are direct ritual and magic for crop growth and for inducement of rain.[1]

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[1] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 193. [2] 1:275, 279.

[3] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, 1:386.

[4] Ibid., 2:1151.

[5] Bunzel, "Zuñi Ritual Poetry," p. 627.

When a plot is first cleared for cultivation a slab shrine (pahōkī) is erected near the middle. Every spring prayer-feather sticks (pahō) are stuck in the ground before the eastern face of this shrine. These pahō are necessary for the continued fertility of the plot and are not for rain-making.[2] Forde relates an account he received from Mrs. Aitken of the Tewa Agayo making pahō feathers to halt the development of a wash in one of his fields:

> I made up one feather to tie on the wash-fence; now you see the sand has hidden it. I made one also for the wash and put it just where the water ran wrong, and you see the sand has covered it. When I put the feather I said "You will not go just in the wash--everywhere you will go flowing over" [i.e. he invokes the water to cease running in a channel and to spread evenly over the field without eroding]. When I put a feather for the field I said "My field, you will be good all the time."[3]

During the winter shinny matches are played with a buckskin ball filled with seeds. If the ball tears and spills the seeds, there will be a good harvest. If it does not, the crops are likely to fail in the coming season.[4]

Planting and harvesting by working parties are deeply interpenetrated by ritual elements. Usually the men run a race during the first day of planting in a particular field. Their seed promotes the rapid growth of the planted seed. The working parties benefit the owner of the fields worked, the workers, who receive gifts, and the whole community, whose solidarity is expressed. At these times people's thoughts must be kindly, and they must hope well for the future.[1]

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[1] Forde, p. 395. [2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 396. No source given. [4] Ibid.

Agricultural success is also more elaborately ensured by the forcing of beans and corn in the kivas in connection with the Kachina initiations. In January and February the Kachina society, which is particularly concerned with growth and fertility, conducts the Powamu or initiation ceremony. The Kachina (Powamu) chief plants beans in small boxlike receptacles in the kiva. The sprouting plants are kept warm and watered. The success of this planting determines to a large extent the character of the coming season. A person wearing the ahul kachina mask representing the sun represents in ritual the slow awakening of the sun. He and the Kachina chief visit kivas and clan houses. At each stop the ahul kachina performs a ritual motion, symbolically retarding the motion of the sun, thus attempting to prolong the growing period of the coming season. He gives away some of the bean sprouts that have been forced in the kiva, which the people put with their seed corn to induce it to rapid growth when planted. Beans and corn are now planted in all the kivas as an omen of the coming season. The sprouts are used in an elaborate bean dance and are finally distributed and taken out to the fields and buried.[1]

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[1] Ibid. For an account of such a working party see Forde, pp. 396-97.

At the summer solstice another effort is made to prolong the summer. Before dawn a boy takes prayer-sticks prepared by the clansfolk of the sunwatcher to the upper mesa, arranges the sticks in the ground in a line running north to south, and awaits the sunrise. Then he dawdles home, picking flowers, thereby inducing the sun to advance slowly.[2]

Later in the season the time of the snake dance may even be set back if the crops are growing slowly. Crow-wing writes in the *Pueblo Indian Journal*:

> Aug. 3rd. The people are trying to have the Snake Chief watch the sun very closely and so to call out the right times; if the Snake Chief does not watch the sun right then they dance early, then it freezes early too. That is the reason why they must try and watch the sun very closely. [But] also they have to watch the crops. If the crops are not growing fast, they can wait for four or eight days before calling out.[3]

This statement clearly implies that the growing season may be shortened or lengthened by advancing or delaying the ceremony beyond its proper date.[4]

Rain-making elements in ritual are numerous. Rain-

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[1] Forde, pp. 397-98. For an account of the *Powamu* ceremony as a whole see J. H. Steward, "Notes on Hopi Ceremonies in their Initiatory Form in 1927-28," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 33 (1931): 59 ff.

[2] Forde, p. 398.

[3] Elsie Clews Parsons, *A Pueblo Indian Journal, 1920-1921*, American Anthropological Association Memoirs 32 (1925), p. 101. This is a journal of Crow-wing, a Hopi.

[4] Forde, p. 399.

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making elements are very prominent in the nimankachina ceremonial in late July. Brides of the previous year wear their white wedding blankets to watch the last dance "to show the clouds they want rain."[1]

Thus, agricultural practice and Hopi religion deeply interpenetrate each other. The Hopi subsistence base is primarily agriculture, and their religion is focused on promoting rain and the growth of the crops.[2]

The Swiss psychologist Jung recorded a conversation with Ochwiay Biano (Mountain Lake), a chief of the Taos pueblo, an intelligent man between the ages of forty and fifty. During the conversation Jung learned of an important way in which the people of Taos keep nature in balance. Mountain Lake was saying:

> "The Americans want to stamp out our religion. Why can they not let us alone? What we do, we do not only for ourselves but for the Americans also. Yes, we do it for the whole world. Everyone benefits by it."
>
> I could observe from his excitement that he was alluding to some extremely important element of his religion. I therefore asked him: "You think, then, that what you do in your religion benefits the whole world?" He replied with great animation, "Of course. If we did not do it, what would become of the world?" And with a significant gesture he pointed to the sun.
>
> I felt that we were approaching extremely delicate ground here, verging on the mysteries of the tribe. "After all," he said, "we are a people who live on the roof of the world; we are the sons of Father Sun, and with our religion we daily help our father to go across the sky. We do this not only for ourselves, but for the whole world. If we were to

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[1] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Journal, p. 99.

[2] Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, 1921, s.v. "Hopi," by Louis H. Gray.

> cease practicing our religion, in ten years the sun would no longer rise. Then it would be night forever."
>
> I then realized on what the "dignity," the tranquil composure of the individual Indian, was founded. It springs from his being a son of the sun; his life is cosmologically meaningful, for he helps the father and preserver of all life in his daily rise and descent.[1]

Through the sun dance and arrow and buffalo hat ceremonies the Cheyennes renew themselves and their world, bless male and female relationships, and thus ensure harmony.[2]

The people continually draw upon the sacred power of Maheo, the Sacred Persons (Maheyuno), and the lesser Powers (Maiyun) because the Cheyennes and their world constantly need renewal. The sacred ceremonies are the great channels of regenerating power. The sun dance, or medicine lodge, revivifies the world and its inhabitants and restores the unity of the Cheyennes with their Creator and with the universe.[3] It is supposed to ensure a good harvest of all the fruits of the earth, as corn, berries, and roots.[4] The sacred arrow rites bring Maheo's life for renewing Cheyenne wholeness as a people[5] and ensure health and abundance.[6] The sacred hat (Issiwun) emanates power for renewing and attracting the buffalo--the great source of food and life. Even though the buffalo is gone, Issiwun's power continues to assure food for the people.[1] The arrows and hat maintain harmonious unity between men and women. If they would be stolen, the wholeness of Cheyenne relationships and life would face destruction.[2] The medicine arrows and buffalo hat protect the Cheyennes, give them health, long life, and plenty, and strength and courage to conquer their enemies.[3] They are necessary to preserve unity between the tribe and its Creator and the Sacred Powers[4] and the harmonious male and female relationships essential to the survival of the tribe and creation.[5] The sacred ceremonies restore the harmony and vitality necessary to keep creation working smoothly and to keep the people alive and well.[6] In Cheyenne thought sickness and scarcity are connected with ceremonial failure or harm to sacred objects.[7]

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[1] C. G. Jung, Memories, Dreams, Reflections, ed. Aneila Jaffé, pp. 251-52.

[2] Powell, 1:xxiii. [3] Ibid., 2:443, 610, 778.

[4] Grinnell, 2:234. [4] Powell, 2:443. [5] Grinnell, 2:53.

During the sacred arrow ceremony a skin with sand in it is held over the smoke rising from burning sweet grass. This action represents the purifying of the Earth. Everything on earth is thus cleansed and ready to receive the blessings that flow from the arrow ceremonies.[8]

As a part of the Cheyenne sun dance the rite of the cutting of the earth is intended to renew the earth and ensure a good harvest of all her fruits. The sacred woman removes five sections of sod to the medicine lodge, thus:[1]

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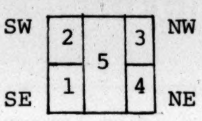
[1] Powell, 2:443; credentials of informants given on p. 442.

[2] Ibid., 2:444.

[3] Grinnell, 2:192. [4] Powell, 1:5. [5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., 2:443. [7] Ibid., 1:78-79. [8] Ibid., 2:571.



The four directions and the center of the universe are marked by these sections of fresh earth and growing grass. The placing of the sods symbolizes Maheo's actions in creating the earth. The sods also represent Grandmother Earth, who feeds and supports the Cheyennes. The priests and pledger pray to Maheo and the Sacred Persons to bless the growth of the grasses, roots, fruits, and crops that will spring from the new earth.[2]

Later in the Cheyenne sun dance four trees are stood in a straight line before the altar in the medicine lodge as a continuation of the prayer that vegetation as a whole will flourish. These trees are visible manifestations of the fruits, firewood, shade, and water that the sacred ceremony of rebirth will bring.[3]

During the sun dance a prayer is offered for all parts of the world: for the Earth and her growth, for the animals, birds, stones, grass, soil, and people. A priest offers the prayer to the Persons at the four directions, to Maheo, and to the lesser Powers, the Sun, the Moon, and the Heavenly Bodies.[4]

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[1] Ibid., 2:781. [2] Ibid., 2:781-82. [3] Ibid., 2:784.
[4] Ibid., 2:449.

Often compulsive

Some of the rituals carry a compulsive effect. In Pueblo thought all offerings made to the spirits, if accepted, are compulsive.[1] There is a compulsion of concentration also in Pueblo thought. Magical compulsion requires that all present at ceremonials concentrate their attention so that their prayers converge upon the same object at the same time.[2] Ceremonies have some elements of mechanism in that every element must be properly performed in order to obtain the desired results.

Purification

Ritual purity is necessary to the Hopi and Plains Indians in order for the ceremonies to be effective. Before many Hopi ceremonies continence is required. At the conclusion of some ceremonies, particularly the snake ceremony, before there can be a return to the ordinary mode of life, it is necessary to remove all that has been associated with the individual during the sacred period. This is accomplished by the taking of a strong emetic. Expectoration forms a portion of a number of rites.[3] Other Pueblo purification rites include bathing or washing the head; waving an object in a circle and discarding it; use of the left hand or foot; use of ashes, embers, or gum; brushing; sucking out sickness; fumigation; and whipping.[1]

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[1] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion p. 486.

[2] Ibid., 1:168.

[3] Fewkes, "A Few Summer Ceremonials," pp. 76, 93, 98, 103.

For the Sioux the water used in sweat baths (inipi) is able to cleanse and purify the body. The "spirit-like" of water is released and enters the body and stimulates its "vitality so that it overcomes harmful things that may be in the body and the spirit-like of the water washes them out of the body."[2]

Summon spirits

By means of the power from rituals or visions native Americans are able to summon the spirits. It is a kind of power Indians are able to influence or control due to their relationships with nature. The kachinas come to live with the Hopi for about half the year, arriving four days after the winter solstice ceremony when the sipapu exit of the Hopi kiva is opened and departing in July at the home-going (Nimán) kachina ceremony, when the crops are about ready to be harvested.[3] During Black Elk's enactment of his vision the spirit horses came to dance on the earth, as shown by the prints of tiny hooves all around the symbol of the hoop of the nation seen when the tepee was opened after the enactment of the vision.[4] In the Postscript of Black Elk

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[1] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, 1:453-76.

[2] Walker, p. 66.

[3] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, 1:202.

[4] Black Elk, Black Elk Speaks, pp. 178-79.

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Speaks the old Black Elk was taken to Harney Peak in the Black Hills to pray to the Six Grandfathers. He told his son, "If I have any power left, the thunder beings of the west should hear me when I send a voice, and there should be at least a little thunder and a little rain."[1] At the conclusion of his prayer rain fell and there was low thunder.[2]

Fetishes

By means of the power and knowledge from ceremonies and visions and the ability to summon the spirits Indians also are able to make and use fetishes. Walker gives an explanation of how a fetish works. Sicun is the imparted Supernatural Potency, a god, one of the "Gods-like."[3] It is the invisible potency of humankind and the emitted potency of the gods. Each person has a sicun from birth until death.

> Most of the Gods can emit their potencies and when so emitted their potencies become sicunpi. Such a sicun can be imparted to material things by a proper ceremony correctly performed by a Shaman.
>
> A sicun so imparted must be clothed by proper wrappings about the material it pervades. . . . The wrapping, the material, and the sicun, all together make a wasicun. A sicun is operative only when It is a part of a wasicun. The Oglala concept of a wasicun is most nearly expressed in English by the word Fetish. . . . While a Fetish may be operative independent of the source of its potency It must be treated with the veneration due to the God that emits its Sicun, for in all Its properties It is as that God. Thus, while the sicun ranks lowest among the Gods, a Fetish may have the potency of any God, except that of Skan, the Great Spirit, and of the Sun, the Chief of the Gods. . . .

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[1] Ibid., p. 277. [2] Ibid., p. 280. [3] Walker, p. 80.

> . . . The functions of a Fetish are to serve Its possessor with Its supernatural powers which are effective when properly invoked. When preparing a Fetish, the Shaman devises a formula which must be repeated to invoke Its powers.[1]

The priests or shamans each have a fetish. If a man has a fetish, "he may pray to it, for it is the same as the Wakan being whose ton (wan)[2] is in it."[3]

Pueblos have many kinds of fetishes: corn fetish, seed-filled cane, stick of office, society standard, stones, shells, stone points and hoes, images or effigies in stone or clay or wood, masks, and scalps.[4]

The objects of a medicine bundle are not fetishes.[5] A medicine bundle is a collection of items connected with visions and representing the animals or objects from which power has been received. It is important to keep the items secret and sacred. The medicine bundle serves to validate the person's power and experience.

Send spirits away

At the same time that Indians are able to summon the spirits, the Pueblos are careful to send them back away. Supernatural power is dangerous. Persons using it must be

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[1] Ibid., pp. 87-88.

[2] A ton or wan is something like a spirit.

[3] Walker, p. 153, by Sword.

[4] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, 1:319-370.

[5] Black Elk, The Sacred Pipe, p. 45n.

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more or less segregated, and, after using it, one must return it or separate oneself from it, hence cleansing or exorcising rites at the conclusion of ceremonial.[1] Hopi make sure it goes away by a final rite of exorcism, casting ashes off a feather, thereby cleansing the person, house, or town from the supernatural, and thus preventing it from causing sickness or other misfortune. Other rites of breaking the supernatural tie include waving ashes or cedar bark around the head and casting away, spitting, emesis, fumigating, and whipping.[2] Parsons writes, "To keep clear from pernicious influences, whether from witch or Spirit, is fundamental in Pueblo motivation."[3]

Summary

Native Americans believe they are able to generate or balance forces of nature by means of ceremonies or mystical experiences. People and nature are thus complementary forces within the whole of being. Some of the rituals, correctly performed and accepted, carry a magical compulsion, but the participants must concentrate their attention and be ritually pure. Spirits can be summoned, imparted to fetishes, and sent away.

Chapter Summary

The native American view of the human relationship to nature includes the reality of the spirits of nature and human contact with, power from, and influence over those spirits. The spirits are personal and are related to people. The earth is Mother, and animals, plants, and other natural phenomena are relatives. Contact with the spirits takes place through ritual observances or mystical experiences. Power can be received from visions, sometimes involving guardian spirits.

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[1] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 491.

[2] Ibid., pp. 106-7. [3] Ibid., p. 107.

The universe is an ordered, balanced, and living whole, of which all parts are related to one another. At the center of the universe is Wakan-Tanka, and that center is within the person and the tribe, in Plains thought. The interrelationship of all life, including the human life within the community, is essential. Nature is generally friendly; it provides when people maintain the proper, respectful relationship with the spirits, performing the ceremonies and rituals that are necessary to maintain harmony. Nature as such is not "managed" but rather dealt with on personal terms. People are able to generate or balance forces of nature by means of ceremonies or mystical experiences.

CHAPTER II

THE BIBLICAL VIEW OF THE HUMAN RELATIONSHIP TO NATURE

According to Biblical faith God created everything and gave human beings dominion over all the earth,[1] as God's representatives.[2] This dominion is limited in terms of Biblical views about the natural world and about the meaning of "dominion" itself. The world is holy because it belongs to God, who created it, cares for it, and will redeem it. Wilderness, i.e., the uncultivated part of the earth, is the realm of demons and death, but it also provides habitat for animals, joins people in praising God, provides potential spiritual experiences for people, including the formative events of the Israelite faith, and is a possible theme for the interpretation of Jesus' ministry. The Bible does not advocate a peculiarly destructive view of land ownership or exploitation. Human dominion over the natural world is limited by the Biblical attitudes of stewardship, humility, love, and awe.

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[1] Gen. 1:26, 28. All Biblical quotations are from the Revised Standard Version.

[2] Gerhard von Rad, Genesis: A Commentary (rev. ed., Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1972), p. 68.

Robinson writes, "The conception of the God who works in history is inseparably linked to His manifestation in natural phenomena. He is what Nature, as well as history, reveals Him to be, and Nature is His peculiar language."[1] Such unity as "nature" possesses in Hebrew thought comes through its dependence on God, its Creator and Controller according to a moral purpose.[2]

The mysteries of nature are an outstanding feature to the Hebrews. The first speech of God in the Book of Job gives a review of nature's mysterious details. However, the best picture of nature as a going concern is in Psalm 104. The incomprehensible mystery of the items in the catalogue of nature impresses the author of the Book of Job, but the author of Psalm 104 is impressed by the harmonious order which rules all aspects of nature. The dependence of all living things upon the continuous activity of God is emphasized in verses 27-30 of Psalm 104. This implies a more personal control of nature than by "natural law."[3]

The Earth Is Holy

In Biblical thought the earth is holy--even though we are allowed to use it. The word "holy," or qadosh, is used here as interpreted by H. R. Niebuhr and Tillich.

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[1] Henry Wheeler Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), p. 4.

[2] Ibid., p. 1. [3] Ibid., pp. 6-9.

H. Richard Niebuhr has pointed out in Radical Monotheism and Western Culture that radical monotheism's secularization of special places, times, persons, and things (because none is more representative than others of the One) has its counterpart in the sanctification of all things. Every place, time, person, and thing is holy because all are God's creations.[1]

The originally diffuse sense of the holy is channeled and directed toward certain objects or events by polytheistic, henotheistic, or monotheistic forms of faith. Polytheism attaches holiness to certain objects or events while others remain profane. In social henotheism the sense of the holy is directed toward the symbols of the closed political or religious society. Sacred places become hallowed by their identity with historic moments in the history of the "holy" society. Certain symbols of the society may be sacred--such as the ruler, flag, the military, or documents.[2]

Radical monotheism organizes the sense of the holy differently. It attacks the systematization of religious emotion by non-monotheistic forms of faith and secularizes their sacred symbolic objects. In monotheism only God is holy. No special places, times, persons, communities, or things are more representative than others of the One.[3]

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[1] (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), p. 52.

[2] Ibid., pp. 51-52.

[3] In Jn 4:19-24, Jesus tells the Samaritan woman that where God is worshiped will not matter, but it is important that he be worshiped "in spirit and truth."

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This secularization, however, has its counterpart in the sanctification of all things. Niebuhr writes:

> Now every day is the day that the Lord has made; every nation is a holy people called by him into existence in its place and time and to his glory; every person is sacred, made in his image and likeness; every living thing, on earth, in the heavens, and in the waters is his creation and points in its existence toward him; the whole earth is filled with his glory; the infinity of space is his temple where all creation is summoned to silence before him. Here is the basis then not only of a transformed ethics, founded on the recognition that whatever is, is good, but of transformed piety or religion, founded on the realization that every being is holy.[1]

Faith, as confidence and loyalty, resolves that, whatever emotion is experienced, nothing deserves the unqualified reverence due only to the One; and that even if the feeling of the holy is not experienced, all things must be respected as holy because of their relation to the holy One.[2]

To the same point, Tillich catches the sensibility of Hebraic religion:

> Holiness cannot become actual except through holy "objects." But holy objects are not holy in and of themselves. They are holy only by negating themselves in pointing to the divine of which they are mediums. If they establish themselves as holy, they become demonic. They are still "holy," but their holiness is antidivine. A nation which looks upon itself as holy is correct in so far as everything can become a vehicle of man's ultimate concern, but the nation is incorrect in so far as it considers itself to be inherently holy. Innumerable things, all things in a way, have

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[1] Pp. 52-53. This does not satisfy the problem of evil, though. Is a polio virus good, etc.?

[2] Ibid., p. 53.

> the power of becoming holy in a mediate sense . . . But, if their holiness comes to be considered inherent, it becomes demonic . . ."[1]

Lynn White writes, "The whole concept of the sacred grove is alien to Christianity and to the ethos of the West."[2] This is true of an inherently sacred grove, but not of a grove that derives its sanctity from God's creation of it, in the sense used in this dissertation. Such a derivatively holy nature does not invite the "contempt" that White refers to.[3]

The earth is holy because it is valued by God and points to him, who created it and pronounced it good,[4] who conserves it, exercising constant control, and who will eventually redeem it, transforming it to its ideal state.

God Created the Earth

The theme of God as Creator of the cosmos is prominent in the Bible, as well as the theme of God's action in history. Not only are there the creation stories in Genesis, but the Psalms are filled with praises of the Creator God, and Job is asked if he was able to plan and operate the forces of nature, which operate whether people are present or not. Paul thought that by the observance of nature all people should have known

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[1] Paul Tillich, Systematic Theology, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951-63), 1:216.

[2] Lynn White, "The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis," Science,(March 10, 1967); reprint in The Subversive Science: Essays Toward an Ecology of Man, ed. Paul Shepard and Daniel McKinley (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969), p. 349.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Gen. 1:31.

God: "Ever since the creation of the world his invisible nature, namely, his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made."[1]

The Psalms praise God as the God of all creation. A strain that comes through the Psalms is that the world, with everything in it, including people, belongs to God because he created it.

Ps. 24:1-2 is an acknowledgment of the Lord as the Creator:

> The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof,
> the world and those who dwell therein;
> For he has founded it upon the seas,
> and established it upon the rivers.

People are not owners but tenants. The other forms of life "who dwell therein" belong to the Creator. People are here only for a short time:

> He remembered that they were but flesh,
> a wind that passes and comes not again.[2]

> The grass withers, the flower fades
> when the breath of the Lord blows upon it;
> surely the people is grass.[3]

God's kingship is based upon his having created the world:

> O come, let us sing to the Lord;
> let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation!
> Let us come into his presence with thanksgiving;
> let us make a joyful noise to him with songs of praise!
> For the Lord is a great God,
> and a great King above all gods.
> In his hand are the depths of the earth;
> the heights of the mountains are his also.
> The sea is his, for he made it;
> for his hands formed the dry land.
> O come, let us worship and bow down,
> let us kneel before the Lord, our Maker!

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[1] Rom. 1:20.

[2] Ps. 78:39.

[3] Is. 40:7.

For he is our God,
  and we are the people of his pasture,
  and the sheep of his hand.[1]

A prophetic warning against disobedience follows this hymn about God's kingship based upon his having created the world. In this psalm God was here before the beginning and created the universe by his power, and he is therefore to be worshiped and humbly obeyed. Ancient Hebrews, as well as American Indians, worshiped the God of nature.[2] This need not contradict the consensus among Old Testament theologians that the God of the Old Testament is more importantly the God of history than of nature.

The natural world that God created is alive and psychical. Hosea describes the responsive life of nature:

I will answer the heavens,
And they shall answer the earth;
And the earth shall answer the grain, the wine and the oil;
And they shall answer Jezreel.[3]

Here is a sequence of hungry people, the food they need, the soil in which it grows, the rain from heaven which makes that soil fertile, and the control of the rain by God. Each element of the sequence has its own life which must be elicited to complete the chain.[4]

Nature is alive. The various forms of life have psychical as well as physical qualities, comparable with those of the human body, in various degrees, and in close and quasi-conscious sympathy with people.[5] Pedersen points out that in Hebrew thought the world demands respect because it is alive, no distinction being acknowledged between the psychic and the corporeal, somewhat in the way consciousness was thought to be distributed throughout the body.[1]

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[1] Ps. 95:1-7a. [2] Cf. Ps. 136:4-9. [3] 2:21-22.

[4] Robinson, p. 13. [5] Ibid., p. 47.

The relation between the earth and its owner is a covenant-relation, a psychic community. The earth has its nature, which makes itself felt and demands respect. It is important to deal with it accordingly and not to ill-treat it.[2] The farmer is to deal kindly with the earth, to uphold its blessing and then take what it yields on its own accord. If he exhausts it, then he attacks its soul and kills it. After that it will produce only thorns, thistles, and other wilderness vegetation.[3]

Consequently, every seventh year the owner must leave the life of the earth entirely to its own nature:

> The Lord said to Moses on Mount Sinai, "Say to the people of Israel, When you come into the land which I give you, the land shall keep a sabbath to the Lord. Six years you shall sow your field, and six years you shall prune your vineyard, and gather in its fruits; but in the seventh year there shall be a sabbath of solemn rest for the land, a sabbath to the Lord; you shall not sow your field or prune your vineyard. What grows of itself in your harvest you shall not reap, and the grapes of your undressed vine you shall not gather; it shall be a year of solemn rest for the land. The sabbath of the land shall provide food for you, for yourself and for your male and female slaves and for your hired servant and sojourner who lives with you; for your cattle also and for the beasts that are in your land all its yield shall be for food.[4]

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[1] Johannes Pedersen, Israel: Its Life and Culture, I-II (London: Oxford University Press, Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1926), p. 479.

[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Lev. 25:1-7.

The same law appears in Ex. 23:10-11:

> For six years you shall sow your land and gather in its yield; but the seventh year you shall let it rest and lie fallow, that the poor of your people may eat; and what they leave the wild beasts may eat. You shall do likewise with your vineyard, and with your olive orchard.

The main object of both of these laws is to secure for the earth the rest which is necessary, if it is to maintain its life. The idea is not that nothing is permitted to grow on it, but that the earth is for a time to be free from the will of people, left to its own nature. Poor people and wild animals are to be permitted to take what grows on it.[1]

Pedersen thus concludes that there are a number of rules to be observed in relation to the earth:

> Its blessing must be tended, its nature not violated, and yet it is to be kept close to the soul of man and received into it. If it is violated, it revolts and becomes a wilderness; and if the people lose the blessing, then it taints the earth and is spewed out of it. (Lev. 20, 22).[2]

Bonifazi describes the relationship between land and its inhabitants thus:

> The living earth is intimately connected with its inhabitants, whose personal life is reflected in the conditions of the impressionable soil and the forms of life its sustains. Earth's relationship to men is not that of a dead mass to living beings, but as partner in a covenant relationship not invariably dominated from the human side. The positive strength of life, the power to thrive and accomplish one's task, is called "blessing," while its opposite, "the curse," spells dissolution of soul. The land shares man's blessing and curse, responding bounteously to strength and kindness, but not suffering exhaustion without giving the appearance of a wilderness. And when, at seven-year intervals, its life becomes inviolate, this is not that it may lie

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[1] Pedersen, p. 480.

[2] Ibid.

> fallow, but that it may become free, a no-man's land, pursuing its own nature. Man and earth are a psychic community; they are the constituents of personal life (Job 31:38-40).[1]

The earth is not only peopled by human beings. Animals are sometimes classified in the Old Testament as beasts of the water, of the air, and of the earth, as in the creation story.[2] Fish and other dwellers of the sea are designated by their life in the water. Insects are classed with birds because they have the nature of the air and move on wings. The beasts of the earth are subdivided into cattle, wild beasts, and crawling things, depending upon whether they belong in the land of people, in the wilderness, or in the dust.[3]

Cattle are the most closely allied to people. The Israelite can speak of the cattle as a whole or, more often, after its kind: ox, small cattle, i.e., sheep and goats, ass, camel, and horse. As property the cattle make part of the psychic entirety of the man, the relation compared by Isaiah with the relation between father and son, who know each other. "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib."[4] "Righteous man regardeth the life of his beast, but the heart of the sinner is stuborn."[5] The man has a covenant with his cattle, as with his earth. In this covenant he makes the cattle his slave, under his will,[1] but he is not allowed to exhaust the earth or weaken the lives of the cattle. To this end cattle, like servants, are permitted to rest every seventh day,[2] to strengthen their souls.[3]

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[1] Conrad Bonifazi, A Theology of Things: A Study of Man in His Physical Environment (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1967), pp. 184-85.

[2] Gen. 1. [3] Pedersen, pp. 480-81. [4] Is. 1:3.

[5] Prov. 12:10.

The wild beasts do not have a covenant with people, such as the cattle have. Regarding the crocodile, God asks Job, "Doth he make a covenant with thee? dost thou take him for a slave for ever?"[4] Similarly he asks about the wild ox, "Is it its will to serve thee, or abide by thy crib?"[5] The whole speech shows that the world is full of life with which Job does not have any covenant and upon which he does not exercise any influence. Unlike the cattle the wild beasts have their own will and maintain it against people.[6]

In addition to being divided into tame and wild, the animals are also divided into clean and unclean. The clean would make anyone who would eat them unclean because they counteract the psychic totality. Because soul and body belong together, anyone who eats an animal absorbs part of a strange soul. One can only eat what can be assimilated into the soul, and for the Israelites that is only the clean animals that are part of their intimate world. The clean animals are ox, sheep, goat, deer, gazelle, several kinds of antelopes, ibex, wild goat, fishes with fins and scales, and locusts. All other animals are unclean.[1]

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[1] Job 40:28. [2] Ex. 23:12, cf. 20:10; Dt. 5:14.

[3] Pedersen, p. 481. [4] 40:28. [5] 39:9.

[6] 39:7-12. Pedersen, pp. 481-82.

The Israelites may not eat all parts even of the clean animals: "But flesh with its soul, its blood, ye must not eat."[2] The reason is: "Ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh, for the soul of all flesh is its blood."[3] The blood in particular contains the soul of the animal, and if they would eat it, too much of the nature of the animal would come into their own soul. For the same reason they are not allowed to eat the kidneys, the fat covering the inwards, and the caul above the liver,[4] in which life is especially situated.[5]

However, another reason for not taking the blood is based on consideration for the animals themselves; it would take the soul from the animals and encroach upon their central life. The Hebrews return the blood to life by giving it to the holy place, and they then take only the parts of least importance to the life. Game has less strict requirements; it suffices to pour out the blood and cover it with dust.[6] These commandments express the right of the animals to maintain their lives.[7]

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[1] Lev. 11; Dt. 14. Pedersen, p. 482.

[2] Gen. 9:4.

[3] Lev. 17:14, cf. 19:26; Dt. 12:23; Ezek. 33:25-26.

[4] Lev. 3:3-4:17; 7:23.

[5] Pedersen, p. 482.

[6] Lev. 17:13, cf. Dt. 12.

[7] Pedersen, pp. 483-84.

People are the rulers of animals, even if their nature is acknowledged and there is a covenant with domestic animals. The Yahwist lets the animals be created for the sake of people,[1] and in the Priestly Code animals are to be ruled by fear and terror in their relation to people.[2] There is a conflict of opinions within the Old Testament about animals' right to life. Pedersen writes about it:

> There is here a tendency which may run counter to the old acknowledgment of the life of the animals, and we know that it has done so in Israel. The animals are only acknowledged, in so far as they directly serve the purposes of man. It is the same narrowing of the world with which we became acquainted when considering the mutual relation of men.
>
> What right then have the wild beasts to live? . . . This becomes a real question in Israel, perfectly analogous with the question of the right of existence of foreign peoples. And in both cases the answer points in the same direction. The tendency is that the wild beasts ought either not to live, or that they must subject themselves to the rule of man, enter into his covenant and will, like the tame animals, or in other words deny their own nature.[3]

This ideal is part of the conception of peace of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, and Zechariah. Eliphaz speaks of having peace with the wild beasts, which enter into a covenant with people, and serve them as domestic animals,[4] or else are struck down: "The roar of the lion, the voice of the fierce lion, the teeth of the young lions, are broken. The strong lion perishes for lack of prey, and the whelps of the lioness are scattered."[5] Even when the right of the wild animals is acknowledged, it is only a testimony to the impotence of people. If they should receive the wild animals into their world, then it could only be imagined as a subjection of them; people should be able to tie the wild ox to cribs and make the crocodile the playmate of little girls.[1]

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[1] Gen. 2:19. [2] Gen. 9:2; cf. Ps. 8.

[3] Pedersen, pp. 484-85. [4] Job 5:22-23. [5] Job 4:10-11.

Each animal belongs to its kind, mīn, which forms a firm unity manifesting itself in the individual specimens. It is the serpent, which bites, rather than a serpent,[2] and the lion or the bear, which attacks the herd.[3] Every animal was created in primeval time, "after its kind." The maintenance of its kind is important; the disapperance of the individual specimen does not matter.[4]

The Israelite avoids mixing the kinds in order to preserve the totality of each kind. Thus for a human being to copulate with an animal is such an abomination that both must be put to death.[5] Animals of two kinds also must not copulate.[6] This principle of not mixing the kinds is carried out in the minutest details[7] and applies to plants as well as animals.[8]

As with the animals the great division in the world of plants is between those which belong to the Israelitic world of people and those which do not. Thorns, thistles, and all kinds of "strange plantings"[9] not intimate to the

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[1] Pedersen, p. 485. [2] Am. 5:19; cf. Gen. 3:1.

[3] 1 Sam. 17:34-37. [4] Pedersen, p. 485.

[5] Lev. 18:23; 20:15-16. [6] Lev. 19:19.

[7] Dt. 22:5, 10, 11; Lev. 19:19.

[8] Pedersen, pp. 485-86. [9] Is. 17:10.

Israelites belong in the wilderness, and only through the curse are they made to crop up in the world of people.[1]

Even the plants and trees have a life which is to be absorbed and utilized but not violated. A tree is slowly made intimate with the world of people until the fifth year, when the owner may take the fruit.[2] When the harvest comes, the owner must not plunder the plants or trees of their full crop[3] because they are to be permitted to maintain some of their wild nature, and poor people are to be able to gather a little, as they are permitted to do with unoccupied fields and vineyards.[4]

According to the Biblical creation narratives and the theme that God gives people dominion over nature,[5] God creates nature in order to bless people. But he also creates nature for his own enjoyment. Contrary to Lynn White's assertion of a "Christian axiom that nature has no reason for existence save to serve man,"[6] nature is of intrinsic worth to God, who rejoices in the creation.[7] S. R. Driver has observed that divine satisfaction is part of the significance of the expression, "And God saw that it was good," in the priestly narrative of creation: "The formula used marks each work as one corresponding to the Divine intention, perfect, as for its nature required and permitted, complete, and the object of the Creator's approving regard and satisfaction."[1]

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[1] Pedersen, p. 486. [2] Lev. 19:23-25.

[3] Lev. 19:9-10; 22:22. [4] Pedersen, p. 486.

[5] Gen. 1:28; Is. 45:18, which says that God formed the earth that it might be inhabited; Ps. 8, which sets people in the supreme place among the creatures of God.

[6] "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis," Science (March 10, 1967), pp. 1203-07. Reprint in The Subversive Science: Essays Toward An Ecology of Man, ed. Paul Shepard and Daniel McKinley (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969), p. 350.

[7] H. Paul Santmire, Brother Earth: Nature, God and Ecology in Time of Crisis (New York: Thomas Nelson Inc., 1970), pp. 83, 129-30.

In Gen. 1:31, upon the completion of God's creative activity with the creation of people, the words "very good" are used for the first time. The "very good" refers to the whole: "and God saw everything that he had made and behold it was very good." The creation would not be "very good," according to the priestly writer, without people nor without the whole of nature. God takes joy in all the results of his creative activity.[2]

Psalm 104 states this idea of God's rejoicing in his works, enumerating God's creative works throughout the whole world:

> Thou makest springs gush forth in the valley:
> they flow between the hills,
> they give drink to every beast of the field:
> the wild asses quench their thirst.
> May the glory of the Lord endure forever,
> may the Lord rejoice in his works.[3]

The same psalm also indicates that God creates the sea monsters to play with them:

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[1] S. R. Driver, The Book of Genesis, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen and Company, 1904), p. 5. See also von Rad, Genesis, p. 50; Hermann Gunkel, Genesis, 6th ed. (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1964), p. 105.

[2] Santmire, pp. 83, 129.

[3] Ps. 104:10-11, 31.

There go the ships,
  and the Leviathan which thou didst form to sport with it.[1]

The priestly writer also says that after God created the great sea monsters, "God saw that it was good."[2] God wills their existence without reference to the well-being of people.

Santmire believes that the teaching of Jesus presupposes that God rejoices in his creative works: "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they neither toil nor spin, yet I tell you that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these."[3] T. W. Manson concludes, "God clothes the lilies of the field and feeds the birds,[4] one might almost say, because God is found of beautiful flowers and fond of birds."[5] He even notices when a sparrow falls to the ground.[6]

Psalm 29 virtually ignores people in its celebration of God's works. Here as elsewhere the Biblical writers presuppose that God has a relation to nature distinct from his relation to people, that nature has worth to God apart from its role in the divine-human drama. God hears the cries of the animals in the wilderness.[7] God is even viewed in the Old Testament as making a covenant with nature. Noah is directed: "Of every living thing of all flesh, you shall bring two of them of every sort into the ark."[1] And after the flood Noah is told: "Behold, I establish my covenant with you and your descendants after you, and with every living creature that is with you."[2] God would not have directed Noah to take every kind of animal into the ark, even the unclean,[3] if his covenant with the animals were solely in order to bless people by providing them food.[4]

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[1] Ps. 104:26. [2] Gen. 1:21.

[3] Mt. 6:29. Santmire, p. 84. [4] Mt. 6:26.

[5] T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus: Studies in Its Form and Content(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931), p. 163.

[6] Lk. 12:6. Santmire, p. 130. [7] Ps. 104:27; 145:16.

Each creature is depicted as having a certain integrity, a life of its own with God, its own place. God numbers the stars and calls each one by name.[5] "Even the hairs of your head are numbered."[6] The Lord has made everything for its purpose."[7] Santmire writes about how God in his wisdom gave each part of creation its own role and sphere:

> So the high mountains are for the wild goats and the rocks are for the badgers (Ps. 104:18). And from their individual places all things look to their Creator: "The young lions roar for their prey seeking their food from God" (Ps. 104:21; cf. 145:15f; Job 38:39-41). From their appointed places all things are seen or heard to sing, quite apart from the being or well-being of man: The outgoings of the morning and evening shout for joy (Ps. 65:8b). The sun comes forth like a bridegroom leaving his chamber and like a strong man runs its course with joy (Ps. 19:5). Long before the creation of man, when the foundations of the earth were being laid, the

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[1] Gen. 6:19.

[2] Gen 9:12. Repeated in Gen. 9:13, 15, 16, 17. See also Jer. 33:20, 25.

[3] Cf. Gen. 7:2, 8. [4] Santmire, pp. 84-85.

[5] Is. 40:26; Ps. 147:7; Job 38:37.

[6] Mt. 10:30. [7] Prov. 16:4a.

> morning stars sang together (Job 38:7a). A closely related theme is that the whole world, nature as well as man, worships God (Ps. 89:5; 96:9; Is. 43: 20a; 66:23). It is a clear implication that nature's singing and worship of God are enjoyable or pleasing to him.[1]

God wills the various parts of his creation for their own sakes as well as for the sake of our well-being.[2] The Lord explains to Job that nature serves people and even limits them, but its significance does not depend on human wants: "Who has cleft a channel for the torrents of rain, and a way for the thunderbolt, to bring rain on a land where no man is, on the desert in which there is no man; to satisfy the waste and desolate land, and to make the ground put forth grass?[3]

Not all things are necessarily shaped to be congenial to people in every respect. Indeed, God includes in nature elements alien to human sensitivity and surpassing human understanding.[4] This is implicit in the Psalmist's statement that the night is made for the wild beasts, wherein they may seek and devour their prey.[5] God even provides a place for the frightful Leviathans of the deep.[6] The teaching of the Bible generally is that God created the world good, not

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[1] Santmire, pp. 85-86. [2] Santmire, p. 130.

[3] Job 38:25-27. Clarence J. Glacken, Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p. 156. Clarke, Concise Bible Commentary, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1953), p. 474.

[4] Cf. Job 28:13, 23; Is. 55:9.

[5] Ps. 104:20-21; cf. Job 38:39-40.

[6] Cf. Ps. 104:26; Job 41.

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perfect. This essentially good world will be consummated in the future perfect world. Further, the "dark side" of the created realm refers to elements alien to human sensitivity, but not intrinsically evil.[1]

God's power is infinite: "He binds up the waters in his thick clouds . . . . He covers the face of the moon, and spreads over it his cloud . . . . The pillars of heaven tremble, and are astounded at his rebuke. By his power he stilled the sea . . . . By his wind the heavens were made fair."[2] The weather conditions on earth are God's work:

> Hear this, O Job;
>   stop and consider the wondrous works of God.
> Do you know how God lays his command upon them,
>   and causes the lightning of his cloud to shine?
> Do you know the balancings of the clouds,
>   the wondrous works of him who is perfect in knowledge,
> you whose garments are hot
>   when the earth is still because of the south wind?
> Can you, like him, spread out the skies,
>   hard as a molten mirror?[3]

God silences Job in the language of the carpenter and the mason:

> Where were you when I laid the foundation of the earth?
>   Tell me, if you have understanding.
> Who determined its measurements--surely you know!
>   Or who stretched the line upon it?
> On what were its bases sunk,
>   or who laid its cornerstone?[4]

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[1] Santmire, pp. 122-23, 125. This does not solve the problem of evil in regard to unavoidable natural dangers, such as tornadoes, but a full discussion of the problem of evil is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

[2] Job 26:8-13.

[3] Job 37:14-18; see also 36:24-33.

[4] Job 38:4-6.

God tells Job that to really understand the order of nature, he would have had to witness its planning: "Have you commanded the morning since your days began, and caused the dawn to know its place?"[1] Does Job comprehend the depths of the sea, the expanse of the earth, the dwelling place of light and of darkness, the storehouses of snow and hail?[2] "Who can number the clouds by wisdom? Or who can tilt the waterskins of the heavens, when the dust runs into a mass and the clods cleave fast together?"[3]

God asks Job questions about the calving of the mountain goat, why the wild ass goes free in the steppe and salt land God has given him for his dwelling place, about the willingness of the wild ox to serve people, the lack of maternal instinct in the ostrich, the power and courage of the horse, the soaring of the hawk, and the nest of the eagle in the rocky crag.[4] Descriptions of the life habits of the behemoth and the leviathan[5] further illustrate to Job the weak powers of human understanding of the creation. God instructs Job in the workings of an ordered world in which there are many relationships unsuspected by him in the various physical environments--deserts, streams, mountains, and mountain pastures and the animals inhabiting them, and the preservation of species despite their preying on one another.[6]

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[1] Job 38:12. [2] Job 38:16-23.

[3] Job 38:37-38. Glacken, p. 155. [4] Job 39.

[5] Job 40:15-41:34. [6] Glacken, pp. 155-56.

The purpose, forethought, and wisdom shown in nature are beyond the comprehension of even the most pious and understanding heart. The book of Job demonstrates that the processes of nature may be mysteries to people, but they are the product of God's purpose. Psalm 104 expresses in a more cheerful manner that the universe is ordered and beautiful.[1]

Romans 1:20, like Psalm 104, is an important text in causing Biblical theology to avoid extreme otherworldliness, rejection of this world, and complete estrangement from human society: "Ever since the creation of the world his invisible nature, namely, his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made." The Psalms dwell on the beauty of nature, the need to love it as a work of the Creator and to seek him in it. Pantheism is avoided, however, in that it is not God that one sees in nature; it is only his works, however beautiful they may be. And God has revealed himself in his actions in history as well as in his works of creation.[2]

God Continues to Care for the Earth and Its Inhabitants

The earth is holy because God, its Creator and Owner, continues to care for it and its inhabitants, human and nonhuman. Along with the emphasis on nature as having its own worth for God as his created work, there is an emphasis in both Testaments on the present rule of God throughout his creation.[1] The Fatherly love and care of God, his beneficent providential control of all that happens, is prominent in the teaching of Jesus.[2] The Biblical God is not a watchmaker who sets things in motion and then retires from participation in the universe.[3] For the Hebrews the Creator himself, not natural law, is the unifying center for natural order. The unity of nature rests on God's continuous activity in it.[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 156. [2] Glacken, pp. 162, 165.

Creation is integrally linked to continuing care. Neh. 9:6 reads: "Thou art Yahweh, thou alone: thou hast made the heavens, the heavens of heavens and all their host, the earth and all that is upon it, the seas and all that is in them, and thou art giving life to all of them." The present participle of the final verb expresses continuity of action, in contrast with the perfect tense of "thou hast made." God's initial creative activity is continued in the maintenance of the world.[5] Many passages describe this continuous activity:

> He causes vapours to rise from the ends of the earth;
> He maketh lightnings for the rain,
> And brings out the wind from His storehouses.[6]

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[1] Santmire, pp. 92-93.

[2] Mt. 5:45; 6:25-34; 10:29-31.

[3] Santmire, p. 93.

[4] Eric C. Rust, Nature and Man in Biblical Thought, Lutterworth Library, vol. 40 (London: Lutterworth Press, 1953), pp. 66-67.

[5] Robinson, p. 23.

[6] Jer. 10:13.

He gives snow like wool,
He scatters hoarfrost like ashes,
He casts forth His ice like crumbs.[1]

He covers the heavens with clouds,
He prepares rain for the earth,
He makes grass spring forth upon the hills.[2]

Thou preparest their grain . . .
Thou dost saturate its furrows,
Thou dost settle its ridges;
With showers thou dost soften it:
Its young growth thou dost bless.[3]

He gives to the cattle their food,
And to the young ravens when they cry.[4]

The eyes of all wait upon thee,
And thou givest them their food in due season.[5]

As God created the first people, he forms all people wonderfully in their mothers' wombs.[6] As he gave the first man and woman the breath of life, he gives it to each person.[7] If he withdraws that breath from people or animals, they return to the dust.[8] And when God sends forth his spirit, his creatures are created again and God renews the face of the earth.[9] In the ninetieth psalm God turns back each to its native dust, and Elihu in the Book of Job says:

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[1] Ps. 147:16-17. [2] Ps. 147:8.

[3] Ps. 65:9-10. [4] Ps. 147:9.

[5] Ps. 145:15; cf. 104:27.

[6] Ps. 139:13; Job 31:15; 10:8-10.

[7] Job 33:4.

[8] Job 34:14-15; Ps. 104:29.

[9] Ps. 104:30.

If He were to withdraw His Spirit to Himself,
And to gather His breath to Himself,
All flesh would expire at once,
And man would return to the dust.[1]

Wild beasts get their food, which maintains their souls, from God.[2] Pedersen writes of the wild beasts: "They all belong in the world created by God and were preserved from the flood, and their lives, each in their kind, is [sic] ensured in that they are in the covenant of God, upon which all life rests (Gen. 9)."[3]

Nature is totally dependent on God from moment to moment. God turns the darkness to morning and the day into night. He can send rain from the sea[4] or withhold it.[5] He grants conception and childbirth.[6] He feeds all animals.[7] The occasional intermediary role of angels as ministers of God's will[8] does not diminish nature's continual dependence on God's ultimate personal rule.[9]

Psalm 104 declares the fitness of nature as an environment for living things, including humankind. "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! In wisdom hast thou made them all."[1] The author of Psalm 104 is impressed not by the mystery of nature but by the harmonious order that rules all parts of nature. Verses 5-9 are devoted to God's creation of the earth. Verses 10-18 describe God's continuing care for the earth and its inhabitants, both animal and human. God makes springs to provide drink for the beasts of the field and the wild asses. By the springs God provides trees in which the birds may nest. God is a generous and compassionate overseer of the natural processes: "The earth is satisfied with the fruit of thy work."[2] God himself causes to grow grass for the cattle and plants for people to cultivate.[3] God provides for the trees to be watered abundantly so that they might live, and they in turn provide homes for the birds, places for them to build their nests. "The high mountains are for the wild goats," indicates that at least part of the purpose for the existence of the high mountains is to provide a habitat for the wild goats. Likewise, part of the purpose for the continued existence of the rocks is to provide a refuge for the badgers.

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[1] Job 34:14-15.

[2] Job 38:39; 39:30; Ps. 104:21.

[3] Pedersen, p. 482.

[4] Am. 5:8; 9:5; I Sam. 12:18; Gen. 27:27; cf. Ps. 65:7-14.

[5] Jer. 3:3. [6] Gen. 29:31; 30:2, 22.

[7] Ps. 104:27-28; 145:15-16; 147:9.

[8] Ps. 103:19-22; cf. Is. 6:1-7.

[9] Santmire, pp. 93-94.

It is God who upholds the natural order, provides food for his creatures, and makes a setting where people may live and work. The night and the day are made for the benefit of the animals as well as of human beings. At night "the beasts of the forest creep forth . . . seeking their food from God."[1] Than, at sunrise, the beasts go away, and people come out of their houses to work until evening. The psalmist sees the alternation of day and night as part of God's plan of harmony and order to provide for both people and animals.

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[1] Ps. 104:24; cf. Ps. 148.

[2] Ps. 104:13. [3] Ps. 104:14.

The psalmist praises the Lord for his wisdom in making the earth, which is full of his creatures, and the sea, "which teems with things innumerable."[2] He praises God for the variety and quantity of life on the earth and in the sea. He praises God for his wisdom in creating the various forms of wildlife and providing for them, with no reference to their usefulness to himself. The only human use of the sea that he mentions is that ships go on it. All the creatures of the land and sea look to God for their food. They depend on God at every moment for their existence because when he gives them food, they are filled with good things; when he does not, they are dismayed; and when he takes away their breath, "they die and return to their dust."[3] Living beings are created only when God sends forth his spirit.[4]

This psalm praises the harmony of God's creation, in which a great abundance and variety of life share the world with human beings. God in his wisdom has created all the creatures and provides for their needs. The creatures are valuable in their own right, and each has its rightful place, regardless of its utility for human beings.

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[1] Ps. 104:20-21. [2] Ps. 104:25.

[3] Ps. 104:29. [4] Ps. 104:30.

In the Old Testament the lordship of the majestic, living God, the everlasting King,[1] the everlasting Creator,[2] is unquestioned:

> Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in the heavens and in the earth is thine; thine is the Kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all.[3]

Apart from God's active rule, the whole creation is fragile, surrounded by primeval waters and intrinsically open to chaos. The heavens could easily vanish like smoke and the earth wear out like a garment.[4] There is order rather than chaos only because God has stretched out the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth in the midst of the primeval waters.[5] Given the fragile character of the whole creation and the threat of chaos, the only hope for order lies in God's continuing exercise of his sovereignty over chaos.[6]

For the Hebrews the Creator himself, not natural law, is the unifying center for the natural order. The unity of nature rests on God's continuous activity in it.[7]

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[1] Jer. 10:10. [2] Is. 40:28. [3] I Chr. 29:11.

[4] Cf. Is. 51:6; Ps. 102:25-28.

[5] Ps. 24:1-2, Is. 40:22; 51:16.

[6] Ps. 10:12, 15-16; 29:10-11; 96:10. Santmire, p. 93.

[7] Rust, pp. 66-67.

Nature is alive, and therefore capable of sympathy with human beings, and of response to its Creator and Upholder, on whom it directly depends.[1]

The Hebrews do, however, recognize order in nature.[2] God's creation by his word is a purposeful act that gives the natural world a certain structure. This is indicated especially in the priestly account of creation.[3] In Psalm 104 nature is a work of art with a harmonious order. In the book of Job[4] the Creator acts as an architect, marking off the land and laying the foundation and the cornerstone. God "did not create it a chaos; he formed it to be inhabited,"[5] that is, to be a place of order. God gives the sun for light by day and establishes the order of the moon and stars for light by night.[6] In the covenant with Noah and all living creatures after the flood, the rainbow is made the sign of the order that will always prevail: "As long as the earth endures, seedtime and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night, shall never cease.[7] Jeremiah[8] appeals to the fixed order of movement of sun, moon, and stars and the orderly succession of day and night, as the pledge of God's preservation of Israel. God speaks to Job of the

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[1] Robinson, p. 16. [2] Ibid., p. 9.

[3] Gen. 1. [4] Job 38:4-7. [5] Is. 45:18.

[6] Jer. 31:35; cf. Job 38:33. Santmire, pp. 96-97.

[7] Gen. 8:22; cf. Jer. 5:24.

[8] Jer. 31:35-36; 33:20, 25-26.

"ordinances" (*ḥuqqoth*) of the heavens and the "ordinance" (*ḥoq*) of the rain.[1] God made the rules that govern the sea.[2] The stork, turtle-dove, swift, and swallow follow orderly migrations.[3] The renewal of the covenant "with the beasts of the field, the birds of the air, and the reptiles of the ground" is part of the promise of security in the future given through Hosea.[4] God instructs the farmer, so that his work may be done in an orderly manner.[5] God appoints the time for harvest.[6] Every part of nature has its own *mīn* or category, given to it at its creation.[7] There is order in nature in the sense of regularity of natural events, established, controlled, and consistently supported by a personal and powerful God.

The regularities of nature, its *ḥuqqoth*, or "ordinances," are the manifestations of God's covenant with the natural order. Through them he maintains the life of nature, but they in no way limit him as would scientific or natural laws. Their standing firm assures that he will not break his covenant with his people.[8]

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[1] Job 38:33, cf. 28:26.

[2] E.g., Job 28:8-11; Prov. 8:29; Jer. 5:22; Ps. 104: 8-9; Ps. 148:6.

[3] Jer. 8:6-7. [4] Hos. 2:18.

[5] Is. 28:26. Robinson, pp. 9-10. [6] Jer. 5:24.

[7] Gen. 1:11; cf. Pedersen, p. 485.

[8] Jer. 33:25. Rust, p. 70; Robinson, p. 24.

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A partial knowledge of biological process in the growth of the embryo or in agricultural growth does not preclude its ascription to divine activity.[1] The growth of the embryo in the womb is due to both the creative activity of God and the inherent energies of the organism.[2] Even though there is some knowledge of the growth processes in the embryo, there is also awe of God's work in this mysterious process. The Preacher mentions human ignorance of the way the Spirit enters into the bones of the embryo in a woman;[3] yet it is God who makes possible the life within the womb:

> For thou didst form my inward parts,
>   thou didst knit me together in my mother's womb.
> . . . .
>   my frame was not hidden from thee,
> when I was being made in secret,
> Thy eyes beheld my unformed substance. . . .[4]

The Hebrews know that the fruit comes from the inherent energies of the tree, and the grain from the seed.[5] They are aware of the long and patient processes by which farmers must prepare the soil if they are to harvest crops.[6] But the knowledge of those processes is the gift of God.[7] They know that rain is essential and rain comes from God.[8] God prepares the grain which covers the valleys after the rain has done its part.[9] The energies of the seed and growing plant, the natural processes, and the human actions which all contribute to the agricultural process are directly dependent upon God and are signs of his creative activity.[1]

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[1] Robinson, p. 27.   [2] Ibid., pp. 25-28.

[3] Ec. 11:5.   [4] Ps. 139:13, 15-16.

[5] Ezek. 34:27.   [6] Is. 28:24-29.   [7] Ibid.

[8] Is. 55:10; Ps. 65:9-13.

[9] Ps. 65:9. Robinson, pp. 25-28.

The Hebrew view is not a deistic view of a natural order created with certain laws to govern it and persisting in obedience to these laws. Nor is it a theism which gives natural laws a place within the activity of God. Nature, rather, for the Hebrew is imbued with divine activity. There are no chains of causality. Everything depends directly upon God's immediate control of his creatures and of the regularities of the natural order. The diffused psychic life in all things excludes any pantheistic interpretation of the Hebrew view of the world. Nature possesses a quasi-independence; its life is not the life of God. The sun, moon, and stars can praise their Maker.[2] The prophets envision the processes of nature as cooperating with God as he shapes the destiny of his people. The wild beasts honor God because he sends springs in the desert for the returning exiles,[3] and the desert itself will rejoice and blossom like the crocus.[4] The powers of nature are appalled at Israel's sin,[5] and God's controversy with his people is to be heard before the mountains.[1] But the diffused psychic life of nature can be indwelt and controlled by God himself.[2] God's blessing of people is manifested in the response of their land,[3] and Isaac invokes God's blessing on his son to be manifested in the fatness of the earth.[4] The regularities of the life of nature are ordained by God. Nature's orderliness is the expression of the divine will which ordained it.[5]

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[1] Ibid., p. 71. [2] Rust, p. 66.

[3] Is. 43:20; cf. Is. 44:23.

[4] Is. 35:1. Rust, p. 68.

[5] Jer. 2:12; 6:19.

The combined creation stories set forth the activity of a personal Creator who is above nature and will control it until his purpose is accomplished. Being Creator of nature allows God to be its Master. Both dualism and pantheism are excluded by this theistic conception. The creation is so closely linked to the conservation and control of nature that dualistic deism is out of the question. At the same time there can be no pantheistic absorption in the immanent energies of nature of such a Person, who makes covenants with nature and people.[6]

The concept of Wisdom is a later development in Hebrew thought. The orderliness of nature is brought out in the Wisdom Literature--Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes--of the post-exilic, or Greek, period and united with the hypostatized Wisdom concept, a mediating and quasi-personalized

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[1] Mic. 6:1. Rust, p. 68. [2] Ibid., p. 66.

[3] Gen. 26:12. [4] Gen. 27:28. Rust, p. 69.

[5] Rust, p. 66. [6] Robinson, p. 21.

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entity.[1] Wisdom is the divine overseer at the creation of the world,[2] and God founded the earth by wisdom.[3] Wisdom is God's and proceeds from Him, and God uses it in the creation and conservation of nature and human life. Wisdom was the first thing God created and is the instrument for the creation of all other things. Wisdom assisted in fixing the heavens, the horizon, the foundations of the deeps, the boundaries of the sea, and the foundations of the earth.

> Ages ago I [wisdom] was set up
> . . . .
> When he established the heavens, I was there,
> . . . .
> when he marked out the foundations of the earth,
> then I was beside him, like a master workman.[4]

Wisdom was God's intimate friend, the agent and overseer in the work of creation, delighting in the creation of all things.[5]

Wisdom serves a unifying function in regard to nature. Nature is a unity in the sense that it becomes a revelation of the wisdom of its divine Creator and Upholder. Although the mystery of nature tends to separate God from people, this revelation of the divine Wisdom forms a bond between them.[6]

In the Biblical view God does not supersede natural laws because there are laws independent of him.

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[1] Prov. 8:12-31; Ec. 24; Wisdom of Solomon 7:22 ff. Rust, p. 66 and Robinson, p. 10.

[2] Prov. 8:22-31. [3] Prov. 3:19-20.

[4] Prov. 8:23-30; cf. 3:19. [5] Robinson, pp. 10-11.

[6] Ibid., p. 11.

Consequently, the Biblical view of miracles is not events that are supernatural or even contrary to nature.[1] In regard to the typical Old Testament "miracles" of the crossing of the Jordan under Joshua and the child-bearing of Sarah in advanced years, H. Wheeler Robinson writes: "Those are to be regarded as extensions of the Divine power which is being constantly exercised in more normal occurrences--the wonders of the deep, the mysteries of childbirth."[2] "Miracles are the representative occasions on which that [divine] activity specially impresses human consciousness."[3]

In the New Testament the Son of God, like the Father, exercises sovereign authority over nature. He can still the sea[4] and walk on it,[5] curse a fig tree,[6] and multiply bread.[7] These are "miracles" in the Biblical sense of wondrous events exhibiting God's creative rule, not as suspensions of natural laws.[8]

God Considers the Earth Worthy of Redemption

The earth is holy because God, its Creator and Owner, considers it worthy of redemption and will fill it with his glory. In Rom. 8:19-23 Christians await the redemption of all of creation as well as of humanity.

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[1] Santmire, p. 94. [2] Robinson, p. 38.

[3] Ibid., p. 39. [4] Mk. 4:39.

[5] Mk. 6:45-52. [6] Mk. 11:12-14, 20.

[7] Mk. 6:34-44; 8:1-9. [8] Santmire, p. 95.

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The idea that nature is fallen along with the human race and is somehow intrinsically corrupt comes into Western thinking from extra-Biblical sources. The idea of a cosmic fall was taken up in the post-Biblical period by Origen from the mythological-philosophical speculation of the Platonic tradition.[1] There are also origins in the mythology of Persian dualism.[2] The expression "the Fall," in reference to Adam's sin, is post-Biblical.[3]

There are themes in the Bible, however, which have some relation to the idea of a fallen cosmos. In Genesis there is a divine curse on the ground and in Romans the motif of the groaning of the whole creation as it awaits redemption. As a result of human sin a divine curse is placed upon people's life in nature, particularly in the Jahwistic creation narrative. In the New Testament, likewise, particularly in Romans 8, sin comes into the world through humankind[4] and nature is subjected to "futility" by God "not of its own will."[5] This reflects Adam's expulsion from the Garden and the ensuing divine curse upon the ground.

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[1] See A. D. Galloway, The Cosmic Christ, (London: London University, 1951), pp. 85ff.

[2] Santmire, p. 192.

[3] Alan Richardson, ed., A Theological Word Book of the Bible (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950; Macmillan Paperback Edition, 1962), p. 76.

[4] Rom. 5:12.

[5] Rom. 8:20.

In the Old Testament the well-being of nature before God is dependent on the moral life of humanity.[1] The judgment on people for their sin spills over on to nature because of the human solidarity with nature. But sin comes into the world through people, perhaps together with supernatural angelic forces.[2] Nature in itself is not intrinsically morally evil.[3] Because of its inherent sympathy with humanity it suffers under the divine curse on sinful humanity. This is true in Genesis 3 and in similar curses elsewhere.[4]

In both Genesis creation accounts and throughout the Bible people live in solidarity with nature when they are created and when they are redeemed. Noah, for instance, takes the clean and unclean animals on to the ark, and the Noahic Covenant is made with "all flesh."[5]

Johannes Pedersen writes that for the Old Testament writers the soul (nephesh) penetrates the body and all that a person possesses. The land a family owns "belongs to the psychic totality of the family and cannot be divided from it." The same is true generally of Israel and its land.[6] This solidarity with the land is reflected in the Hebrew

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[1] Robinson, p. 30. [2] Santmire, p. 192.

[3] Robinson, p. 31.

[4] Dt. 28, the curse of the ground for Cain's sake, cf. Job 19:21; Hos. 13:14; Santmire, pp. 192-93.

[5] Cf. Gen. 8:1; 9:12, 13, 16, 17. Santmire, p. 193.

[6] Pedersen, pp. 170, 458-59, 474.

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words, adam for "man" and adamah for the "soil" from which the man was created.[1]

As subjects created to obey God in personal freedom, people are confronted with the blessing if they obey God's commands or the curse if they disobey.[2] Because they are so closely related to nature, it is also affected. When Israel obeys, the land is prosperous,[3] reflecting God's blessing. When Israel sins, God pours out his curse,[4] which spills over onto nature:

> They have transgressed the laws,
> violated the statutes,
> broken the everlasting covenant,
> Therefore a curse devours the earth,
> and its inhabitants suffer for their guilt.[5]

God curses the ground because of Adam's sin[6] and again at the time of the flood.[7] Pedersen writes:

> The curse entails the nature of the desert . . . . If, through their sin, the people have become penetrated with the curse, then this must act throughout and consume the blessing of the country.[8]

When the land is under the curse, it can be thought of as mourning.[9] The wine also mourns when the vine languishes;[1] and the wild beasts cry to God because the brooks are dry.[2] An idea widely held among the prophets is that the animal world and even the inanimate world is associated with people in their suffering.[3] Conversely, the sympathy of a shared life between land and people will some day bring a removal of the effects of the curse on nature.[4] When God is about to judge Babylon, for example, and renew Israel's blessing, Jeremiah says:

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[1] Gen. 2:7. Santmire, p. 193.

[2] Dt. 30:26-28; cf. Gen. 2:15-17.

[3] Ps. 73:2; 65:10-14. [4] Dan. 9:11.

[5] Is. 24:5-6a. [6] Gen. 3:17.

[7] Gen. 8:21. Santmire, pp. 193-94.

[8] Pedersen, pp. 459-60.

[9] Hos. 4:1-3; Is. 24:4; Jer. 12:4.

> Then the heavens and the earth,
>   and all that is in them
> shall sing for joy over Babylon.[5]

Nature sings when Israel is redeemed:

> Sing, O heavens, for the Lord has done it;
>   shout, O depths of the earth;
> break forth into singing O mountains,
>   O forest, and every tree in it![6]

This unity of land and people is due to their shared dependence on God as their Creator, Upholder, and future Transformer.[7]

Creation proceeds toward the Kingdom of God. In Israel's early covenant faith there is a belief that God will in time fulfill his promises.[8] During the time of the monarchy there is a tendency to identify the kingdom of Israel with the Kingdom of God and an accompanying hope for a "Day of the Lord," when Israel's enemies and troubles will disappear. But the prophets proclaim that the Day of the Lord will be a time of judgment for Israel too. Nature is included in this new conception:

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[1] Is. 24:7. [2] Joel 1:20.

[3] Am. 8:8; Is. 16:8; 24:3-6; Zeph. 1:2-3; Jer. 12:4; Jl. 1:10, 18; cf. Rom. 8:22.

[4] Robinson, p. 32. [5] Jer. 51:48a.

[6] Is. 44:23; cf. 29:13; 52:9; 55:12.

[7] Robinson, p. 32.

[8] John Bright, The Kingdom of God: The Biblical Concept and Its Meaning for the Church (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1953), pp. 28, 30.

> Behold the day of the Lord comes,
>   cruel, with wrath and fierce anger,
> to make the earth a desolation
>   and to destroy sinners from it.
> For the stars of the heavens and their constellations
>   will not give light,
> the sun will be dark at its rising
>   and the moon will not shed its light.
> I will punish the world for its evil.[1]

After the Day of the Lord, however, Israel's fortunes will be restored,[2] and there will be a new day for nature too.[3] Isaiah relates this to the new David who will rule over a new Israel.[4] The coming renewal of nature is proclaimed by Deutero-Isaiah:

> For you shall go out in joy,
>   and be led forth in peace;
> the mountains and hills before you
>   shall break forth into singing. . . .
> Instead of the thorn shall come up the cypress;
>   instead of the briar shall come up the myrtle.[5]

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[1] Is. 13:9-11, cf. Is. 24; Jl. 3:14-16; Zeph. 1:2-3.

[2] Cf. Zeph. 3:20; Ob. 21; Zech. 14:16.

[3] Jl. 2:18-23. Santmire, pp. 88-92.

[4] Is. 9:1-7; 11:1-9.

[5] Is. 55:12-13.

> Behold, I am doing a new thing. . . .
> I will make a way in the wilderness,
>   rivers in the desert.
> The wild beast will honor me . . .
> for I give water in the wilderness, . . .
>   to give drink to my chosen people.[1]

Similar sayings occur throughout the book of Isaiah.[2]

> For behold, I create new heavens
>   and a new earth.[3]

The myth of a restored paradise is expressed in the prophets and psalmists. Isaiah pictures a pristine harmony in which there will be no enmity between animals of different species, nor will any of them harm little children, "for the earth shall be full of knowledge of the Lord."[4] Ezekiel extends the hope of restoration to include plants as well as animals. The earth will be fruitful, and people will know the Lord as a deliverer from slavery and exploitation.[5] Hosea also speaks about the congeniality of plants and animals, and grounds his symbolism in a renewed covenant of nature with God.[6]

But this hope for the renewal of all things is not realized during the monarchy, so it is pushed beyond the time of this world in the apocalyptic writings.[1] As God's creative and redemptive rule is relegated to the future, so is his history with nature, and it is universalized to include the whole cosmos.[2]

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[1] Is. 43:19-20.

[2] Cf. Is. 30:23-26; 32:14-18; 35:1-2; 41:17-20.

[3] Is. 65:17a. [4] Is. 11:6-9.

[5] Ezek. 34:25-30.

[6] Hos. 2:18-23. Conrad Bonifazi, "Biblical Roots of an Ecological Conscience," in This Little Planet, ed. Michael Hamilton (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), p. 219.

Although this world is unfit for the realization of the Golden Age, resurrection life in a new heaven and a new earth will be lived here and in the flesh.[3] The apocalypticists declare the unity of cosmological with human events. Due to their hope in the wholeness of divine purposes, their despair of this world is less prominent than their hope for a transformation of the creation.[4]

Bonifazi describes the imagery of the apocalypticists:

> This hope and despair are set out in peculiar imagery. The power of things to persist both structurally and vitally in time, over against chaos and disease, is attributed to spiritual beings: the creative forces to the good, and the destructive to the evil. Christianity has understood its founder to have mastered the powers of this demonic world.[5]

The myths of Satan and his demons symbolize what is offensive to human sensitivity, such as natural catastrophe, sickness, enmity, and stress among the parts of nature.[6]

Prophetic symbolism, enfolding the earth with the destiny of people, later focused on the New Jerusalem,[7] where songs of celestial praise are sung by "every creature in heaven and on earth and under the earth and in the sea, and all therein."[1] This cosmic song testifies to the apocalyptic hope of nature's inclusion in salvation.[2]

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[1] Bright, pp. 167-68. [2] Santmire, p. 90.

[3] I Enoch 45:5.

[4] Bonifazi, This Little Planet, pp. 217-18.

[5] Ibid., p. 218. [6] Ibid., 219.

[7] Rev. 21.

Again in the New Testament people stand in solidarity with nature.[3] People and everything else come from, are upheld by, and have their end in God. People and all of creation "groan" together,[4] awaiting the final consummation. However, the New Testament authors are less interested in clearly showing the human relationship with nature, perhaps because of the heightened eschatological expectation in New Testament times. The present world of nature is passing away,[5] and soon the new heaven and the earth will come.[6]

In regard to the effect of sin on nature, in the New Testament as in the Old nature can be cursed and suffers distress at the approach of God's judgment of humanity.[7]

In Jesus' teaching the Kingdom of God is coming in two stages, first, in his own ministry, and second, in a world-consummation,[1] in which "heaven and earth shall pass away," and a new world will come.[2]

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[1] Rev. 5:13.

[2] Bonifazi, This Little Planet, p. 220.

[3] Rom. 11:36; Col. 1:15-20. [4] I Cor. 7:31b.

[5] Rev. 21:1. Santmire, pp. 195-96.

[6] Mt. 21:19, the cursing of the fig tree.

[7] Mk. 13:24-25; Acts 2:19-20; 2 Pet. 3:7; Rev. 16. Santmire, p. 196.

According to C. F. Burney and Matthew Black, in the writings of Luke, Paul, and John the mission of Jesus is thought of in terms of a new creation.[3] In Mk. 4:35-41 and 5:1-20 the incarnation may be thought of as a new creation.[4] The comparison in Mk. 13:19 of the coming chaos to the chaos before the creation, suggests a parallel between the creation following the first chaos and a new creation following the second.[5]

In the New Testament the interrelationships of God, people, and nature are not always clear, but there are several important ideas in Paul's writings. Rom. 1:20 is a _theologia naturalis_ in miniature; Rom. 5:12-14 is an expression of a corruption which reaches even the creation and Rom. 8:18-23 expresses the "groaning" of nature awaiting redemption along with humanity.[6]

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[1] N. A. Dahl, "The Parables of Growth," _Studia Theologica_, 5 (1951):132-66.

[2] S. E. Johnson, "Matthew," _Interpreter's Bible_, on Mt. 19:28.

[3] C. F. Burney, quoted in Matthew Black, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam," _Scottish Journal of Theology_, 7 (June 1954):170.

[4] W. D. Davies, _Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology_ (London: S. P. C. K., 1955), p. 41.

[5] Santmire, p. 90.

[6] Glacken, p. 161.

In Paul's indictment of the pagans and Jews in Romans 1-3, he does not suggest that they are corrupted by Adam's sin but argues that the Jews failed to keep the law and the pagans sinned in various ways and ignored the manifest evidence of God's presence and character in the creation: "Ever since the creation of the world his invisible nature, namely, his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made."[1] This assertion is a complement to Psalm 104. People have no excuse for not knowing or honoring God.[2]

Rom. 5:12-14, in contrast, expresses a corruption of humanity that reaches into nature. Through Adam's sin death came into the world, but death came to all people because they too sinned. There was sin before the law was given, "but sin is not counted where there is no law. Yet death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam, who was a type of the one who was to come."[3] This passage contains the core of the doctrine of original sin. It is based on Gen. 3:17-19, in which God punishes the serpent, Eve, and Adam. The punishments also affect nature: "Cursed is the ground because of you,"[4] God says to Adam. Now he will have to work hard and combat thorns and thistles in order to produce bread. When he dies, he will return to the dust from which he was made.[1]

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[1] Rom 1:20. Charles E(arle) Raven, Natural Religion and Christian Theology, The Gifford Lecture 1951, First series: Science and Religion (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1953), p. 34.

[2] Glacken, p. 161. [3] Rom. 5:13-14.

[4] Gen. 3:17.

Paul's purpose in Rom. 5:12-14 is to demonstrate the greatness of Jesus' coming, because Jesus' victory redeemed humankind to life, in contrast with the sin and death which followed the first Adam.[2] The idea of the new creation is implied by Paul's use of the "Second Adam" terminology.[3] It illustrates the magnitude and relevance of the redemption. For Paul the Fall, with the corruption of nature, is not a fundamental concept. This passage (Rom. 5:12-14) and I Cor. 15:21-22, 45-49 are the only references to the fall of Adam by Paul--or in the entire New Testament except I Tim. 2:13-14, which refers to the primary guilt of Eve rather than to the lasting effects of the Fall.[4]

Moreover, in this passage (Rom. 5:12-14) Paul does not say specifically that Adam's sin corrupted his posterity. Paul says that death, introduced as punishment for Adam's sin, became universal; but he also says that before the giving of the Law there was no sin in the full sense and that even those whose sins were not like Adam's were still subject to death.[5]

Romans 5 with its explicit connection with the Genesis account of the Fall is related to Romans 8.[1] Rom. 5:12-14 expresses the corruption of humanity and nature, but Rom. 8:19-23 expresses the hope of both for redemption. That God considers the world worthy of redemption is indicated in Romans 8 wherein Christians await the redemption of all of creation as well as of humanity.

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[1] Glacken, p. 162. [2] Ibid., p. 163.

[3] Santmire, pp. 90-91. [4] Raven, pp. 34-35.

[5] Ibid., p. 35.

Rom. 8:19-23 reads:

> For the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the sons of God; for the creation was subjected to futility, not of its own will but by the will of him who subjected it in hope; because the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay and obtain the glorious liberty of the children of God. We know that the whole creation has been groaning in travail together until now; and not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly as we wait for adoption as sons, the redemption of our bodies.

God subjected nature in the Genesis account of the Fall with the divine curse of the ground.[2] "He who subjected it in hope," then, must be the God who curses the whole generation in reaction to Adam's sin.[3] Thus, in Rom. 5:12 sin is the cause of the curse, while in Romans 8 the creation is subjected to futility by God, "not of its own will." Sin comes into the world through humanity,[1] not through a cosmic fall. Nor is nature depicted as a sinful reality.[2]

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[1] N. A. Dahl, "Two Notes on Romans 5," _Studia Theologica_ 5 (1951): 37-48; H. M. Biedermann, _Die Erlösung der Schöpfung beim Apostel Paulus: Ein Beitrag zur Klärung der religionsgeschichtlichen Stellung der paulinischen Erlösungslehre_ (Würzburg: Rita-Verlag, 1940), pp. 88-89.)

[2] Biedermann argues convincingly that Rom. 8:19-23 is best viewed against the Old Testament background. Contrast Rudolf Bultmann, _A Theology of the New Testament_, tr. Kendrick Grobel (London: SCM Press, 1955), 1:174; Bultmann assumes that this passage stems from Gnostic mythology.

[3] Biedermann, p. 74; Gösta Lindeskog, _Studien zum neutestamentlichen Schöpfungsgedanken_ (Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift, II, 1952), p. 183.

Paul is not thinking of what the "fall" of nature or its redemption means to people, but rather what it means to nature itself.[3] Paul does not show the appreciation of nature that Jesus does, but in this passage he feels the pathos of nature, the futility or the meaninglessness from within nature itself, thus recognizing a quasi-consciousness in nature. The whole universe around him seems to Paul to be groaning and travailing in pain, waiting restlessly for that which will fulfill it and give it meaning in place of the present frustration of its true aims through humankind's fault.[4] This fulfillment will occur during the final revelation, "the revealing of the sons of God," when we come into our own full sonship.

According to Paul, creation was subjected to corruption, not due to any willful act of its own, but by the ordinance of God, who has a view to its ultimate deliverance.[5] This is in contrast to people, who did sin and therefore suffered subjection by their own fault. But nature and people are so closely associated that the evil one suffers carries over to the other.[1] Paul seems to be setting over against nature's will, not people's or the devil's, but God's: "by the will of him who subjected it."[2] Only God is in control of his world.[3] Nature, although subjected to imperfection, is nevertheless able to hope, strive, and agonize for that which is to come.[4] Having shared in the "bondage to decay" which God decreed after human disobedience, all of nature, animate and inanimate, will share also in the "glorious liberty of the children of God," won by Christ's obedience, for which Christians eagerly wait. The final redemption will be cosmic--God's whole creation, despoiled by sin and death, will be set free in the new creation.[5] It will be the fulfillment of the prophetic vision of a transfigured world-order.[6]

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[1] Cf. 5:12.

[2] Santmire, p. 198. Cf. Biedermann, p. 80; Lindeskog, p. 183-84; and C. K. Barrett, From First Adam to Last: A Study in Pauline Theology (New York: Charles Scribners, 1962), p. 117.

[3] John Knox, "Romans," in Interpreter's Bible, ed. George Arthur Buttrick et al., 12 vols. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1952), 9:520.

[4] Robinson, p. 31. [5] Raven, p. 35.

The prophetic and apocalyptic proclamation of the new heaven and the new earth is related to the Biblical theme that God creates nature not just for people, but also for his own purposes, giving it its own value in God's eyes. In Biblical thought nature will not slip away into nothingness at the Final Day. Rather both it and humanity will be renewed and transformed. In the New Testament, all things

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[1] Robinson, p. 31. [2] Knox, 9:521; Raven, p. 35.

[3] Raven, p. 35. [4] Knox, 9:521; Raven, p. 35.

[5] Knox, 9:521. [6] Rust, p. 238.

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flow together from God and his Son Jesus Christ toward the new creation of all things.[1] God plans for nature as well as for people to be brought to fulfillment in the Kingdom of God. Nature does not serve only as the stage for human history.[2]

The Last Day will be for all of nature, not just for humanity.[3] Teilhard de Chardin proposes that all of creation is a prelude to human evolution toward a final Omega-point and seems to indicate that when humanity reaches this point, everything except Christ and the transfigured body of believers will become cosmic rubbish.[4] This thesis is inadequate. The Bible affirms the cosmos as God's creation, for which he cares, regardless of its usefulness to people, and it affirms the coming new heavens and new earth.[5] The concept of the Omega-point does not convey the fullness of Biblical eschatology and undercuts nature's ultimate worth, if it is to fall away into nothingness. Santmire writes: "The integrity of nature, its role as a participant in its own right in the universal Divine drama of creation, redemption, and consummation, would be demolished."[1] The new creation will stand in a relation of continuity with but transcendence[2] to the first creation, not destroying it but ending its turbulence and unrest:[3] "And night shall be no more; they need no light of lamp or sun, for the Lord God will be their light, and they shall reign for ever and ever."[4]

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[1] Rom. 11:36; Col. 1:15-20.

[2] Santmire, pp. 91-92. [3] Santmire, p. 108.

[4] "Is it not conceivable that mankind at the end of its folding-in upon itself, may reach a critical level of maturity where, leaving Earth and stars to lapse slowly back into the dwindling mass of primordial energy, it will detach itself from this planet and join the one, true, irreversible essence of things, the Omega point?" Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, The Future of Man, tr. N. Denny (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 122-23.

[5] Cf. Rev. 21; also Heb. 1:12, 2 Pet. 3:13.

In summary, the Bible ties creation with redemption. Adam's sin is set in the context of a universal history from Paradise to the new heavens and the new earth. The divine judgment on people for their sin affects nature, which is cursed due to its solidarity with sinful humanity. For Deutero-Isaiah, God laid the foundations of the earth and will usher in the new heavens and the new earth. Similarly, Jesus proclaims the Kingdom of God as the coming world-transformation. Paul observes the eternal power and glory of God in the things that have been made[5] and looks toward their final transformation,[6] when "the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay and obtain the glorious liberty of the children of God."[7] The Apocalypse reaffirms Deutero-Isaiah's proclamation of the new heavens and the new earth.

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[1] P. 108. [2] Cf. 2 Pet. 3:12-13.

[3] Rev. 21:1-5; Is. 11:4-8; Santmire, p. 108.

[4] Rev. 22:5. [5] Rom. 2:10.

[6] Cor. 15:28; cf. Rom. 11:36. [7] Rom. 8:21.

The Biblical unity of humankind and the world in its vision of cosmic redemption witnesses to God's loving care for both.

In this section three features of the Biblical conception of nature have been discussed.

1. God created a living nature. As Robinson characterizes it, "In various degrees this life has psychical as well as physical qualities, comparable with those of the human body, and in close and quasi-conscious sympathy with men."[1] The majesty and mystery of nature impress the Hebrews more than its beauty, but they are aware of the wisdom as well as the power of God revealed in nature. The bounty of nature reveals God's grace, and its established order is a pledge of his steadfastness.

2. All this varied life and its regularities are continuously sustained by their Creator.[2]

3. The Creator and Upholder of nature is able to recreate and perfect it and considers it worthy of redemption. Israel develops confidence God will redeem nature along with humankind.[3]

These three aspects show the earth to be holy because of its relationship to God as his creation, which he values. It is a medium of the divine, to which it points.

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[1] Robinson, p. 47. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 48.

Biblical Attitudes about the Wilderness Are Ambiguous

Biblical attitudes toward wilderness are ambiguous. On the one hand the wilderness, the unsown land, is viewed as the realm of the curse, demons, death, and the deep.[1] On the other hand the wilderness (1) provides habitat for animals as part of God's plan of creation,[2] (2) joins people in praising God,[3] and (3) provides potential spiritual experiences for people. Important events happened in the wilderness. Because the covenant with Israel was made in the wilderness of Sinai, the wilderness is thought of as a place of redemptive, covenantal bliss.[4] The forty-years' wandering results in the wilderness' being thought of as a place of testing and tutelage. It is also a place of refuse and contemplation or of discipline and purgation.[5] (4) The wilderness theme is also a method of interpreting Jesus' mission.

The wilderness is both geographical and psychological. "It can be a state of mind as well as a state of nature."[1] Geographically, in ancient Palestine the wilderness is the steppe and desert beyond the land that can be cultivated with the help of seasonal rains. Psychologically, it means for the settled Hebrews, as for their neighbors, the realm of desiccation which can encroach upon their agricultural and pastoral land if the annual cultic renewals are not observed. Israel, however, comes to associate the seasonal variations in precipitation with the moral behavior of the nation. The fully developed vision extends from the Garden of Eden, through the wanderings in the wilderness of Sinai, to the confident hope for a new Eden.[2]

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[1] George H. Williams, Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought: The Biblical Experience of the Desert in the History of Christianity & the Paradise Theme in the Theological Idea of the University, The Menno Simons Lectures (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), p. 12.

[2] Ps. 104.

[3] Ps. 96:11-13; 99:7-8; Is. 44:23; 55:12.

[4] Williams, p. 15. [5] Ibid., p. 17.

The formative wilderness experience of Israel at Sinai gives the wilderness a historically and ethically positive meaning as well as the negative meaning which Israel shares with her neighbors on the edge of the desert. The wilderness state in the Scripture designates that even in the life of the redeemed there are periods of partial failure, depression, uncertainty, and even defection.[3] Williams characterizes it:

> The children of Israel had been saved from bondage to this world, slavery in Egypt, by their miraculous passage through the Red Sea; they wandered in a wilderness for forty years before reaching the Promised Land; and many of them died murmuring against God and Moses and the new commandments. Even Jesus after his baptism in the waters of Jordan faced a comparable period of forty days in the wilderness, tempted by Satan. It is recorded that the very Spirit which had appeared as a dove at his baptism led him into that

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[1] Williams, p. 4. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 5.

wilderness.[1]

Wilderness Is the Realm of the Curse, Demons, Death, and the Deep

The characteristic word for the earth, *ʾᵃdhāmā*, means the land inhabited and cultivated by man, *ʾādhām*.[2] Generally speaking, the wilderness is the unsown as distinguished from the sown land, *ʾᵃdhāmā*, which includes the green pastures, orchards, vineyards, fields, oases, and gardens surrounding the villages and towns.[3] Palestine is a country of agriculture and cattle-breeding, made possible by the water, the creator of fertility, raining from above, springing from the ground, and flowing in streams.[4]

"The land" is the country where blessing abides. The blessing is the source of fertility, the positive value of life, and the strength in life.[5] If people maintain the blessing, then it penetrates the land and makes it a land of people. Peace and righteousness reign,[6] water is abundant, and the valleys are covered with grain and the hills with sheep.[7] If there is an intimate companionship between people and land, the land is a "land of possession,"[1] penetrated by the soul of the Israelites. They know it, having psychic community with it.[2] Pedersen writes:

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Gen. 2:5; 47:23; 2 Sam. 9:10. Pedersen, p. 454.

[3] Williams, p. 12. [4] Pedersen, p. 454.

[5] Ibid. [6] Ps. 72:3. [7] Ps. 65:10-14.

> If they maintain righteousness and thus preserve the blessing, then peace must likewise permeate them in their relation to the country; they act in harmony with it. It is this which the law expresses by saying that if they live according to its demands their days shall be long in the land (Exod. 20,12; Deut. 5,16; 32, 47).[3]

The sown land is precariously maintained, subject to the encroachment of the desert when the seasonal rains are withheld. The Hebrew prophets seek to interpret the blasting of the cultivated lands as God's punishment for Israel's sinfulness. Jeremiah writes: "Their lands became a wilderness . . . because of the glow of his [God's] wrath."[4] Thus God might cause the deterioration of Israel's orchards and gardens as a punishment. The desert or wilderness becomes, then, imbued with moral significance.[5]

The opposite of the land of people is the desert-land, "where there is no seed, nor figs, nor vines, nor pomegranates, neither is there any water to drink."[6] In the stony and salty soil of the desert agricultural plants do not grow but rather nettles, thorns, and thistles.[7] From the desert comes the hot, drying wind,[1] not the mild winds which bring rain and fertility.[2]

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[1] Lev. 14:34 et al.

[2] Jer. 16:13. Pedersen, pp. 458-59.

[3] Pedersen, p. 459. [4] Jer. 25:38.

[5] Williams, p. 12. [6] Num. 20:5.

[7] Is. 5:6; 7:24; Zeph. 2:9.

The Bedouin loves the free, unbounded expanses of the desert, disdaining the hard work of the peasant. The Israelite sect of the Rechabites, too, considers the life of the desert ideal, as probably the Israelites as a whole did at one time. But for the Israelites of Biblical times the desert is the home of the curse. Normal human beings and domesticated animals find the wilderness uninhabitable. Only wild beasts live there.[3]

Isaiah details the appearance of a cursed desert land, where the blessing is lacking:

> And the streams of Edom shall be turned into pitch,
> and her soil into brimstone;
> her land shall become burning pitch.
> Night and day it shall not be quenched;
> its smoke shall go up for ever.
> From generation to generation it shall lie waste;
> none shall pass through it for ever and ever.
> But the hawk and the porcupine shall possess it.
> the owl and the raven shall dwell in it.
> He shall stretch the line of confusion over it,
> and the plummet of chaos over its nobles.
> They shall name it No Kingdom There,
> and all its princes shall be nothing.
>
> Thorns shall grow over its strongholds,
> nettles and thistles in its fortresses.
> It shall be the haunt of jackals,
> an abode for ostriches.
> And wild beasts shall meet with hyenas,
> the satyr shall cry to his fellow;
> yes, there shall the night hag alight,
> and find for herself a resting place.

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[1] Jer. 4:11.

[2] Pedersen, p. 454.

[3] Jer. 4:23-28; 9:9-11; 10:22; 16:6; 22:6; 12-43; 33:10, 12; Mic. 1:8; Zeph. 2:14; Job 30:29. Pedersen, p. 454.

> There shall the owl nest and lay
>   and hatch and gather her young in her shadow;
> yea, there shall the kites be gathered,
>   each one with her mate.[1]

The frontier line between the land of people and the desert-land cannot be drawn geographically. The desert land proper lies to the east and south of Palestine, but it sends its offshoots into the land of people. Wherever the curse abides, there are patches of cursed land. In Sodom and Gomorrah nothing can live because the sins of the people called down fire and brimstone over it.[2] Joshua made Ai a desert and laid a curse upon Jericho. These patches of cursed land, ruins and deserts, located throughout the country, are avoided by human beings, but the sinful, the cursed, belong there.[3]

But even where the blessing prevails, the curse lies in wait. People must constantly strive to keep it away. In the fields it may appear as thickets, thorn, and thistle.[4] If sin and curse got such a hold of people that the blessing were eliminated, then the wilderness would be present immediately, and the people must flee, for the wilderness is not for them.[5]

If the curse, which has the nature of the desert, reacts upon the country, that country is consequently defiled, profaned, and filled with sin.[1] If blood-guilt rests upon a land, then its fertility is gone.[2] Plants and animals disappear,[3] and the country vomits out its inhabitants.[4]

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[1] Is. 34:9-15.

[2] Gen. 19: Deut. 29:22; 32:32; Is. 1:9-10; 13:19 et al.

[3] Job 15:28. Pedersen, pp. 456-57. [4] Gen. 3:18.

[5] Pedersen, p. 457.

It is so important for the land that people maintain the blessing that the country is a wilderness as soon as sin prevails, even if it still lies under the surface.[5] Isaiah says:

> The earth is defiled under the inhabitants thereof; because they have transgressed the laws, violated the ordinance, broken an eternal covenant. Therefore the curse devoureth the earth, and they that dwell therein are desolate; therefore the inhabitants of the earth are scorched and few men left. The new wine drieth out, the vine withereth, all the merry-hearted do sigh . . . The city of chaos is broken down; every house is shut up that no man may come in.[6]

And Jeremiah says:

> I behold the earth and, lo, it is chaos; I look towards the heavens, and they have no light. I see the mountains and, lo, they tremble, and all the hills totter. I behold, and, lo, there is no man, and all the birds of the heavens are fled. I behold, and lo, the fruitful place is a wilderness, and all the cities thereof are broken down. This comes from Yahweh and the blaze of his wrath.[7]

Pedersen concludes:

> Blessing and curse cannot exist peacefully beside each other; if, through their sin, the people have become penetrated with the curse, then this must act

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[1] Lev. 10:20; Num. 35:33; Jer. 2:7; 3:2.

[2] 2 Sam. 21:1. [3] Jer. 12:4.

[4] Lev. 18:25; 20:22. Pedersen, p. 459. [5] Ibid.

[6] Is. 24:5-7, 10 (KJV). [7] Jer. 4:23-26 (KJV).

> throughout and consume the blessing of the country. The Israelite thus cannot give himself up to the conviction that he lives in the blessed land, and that the wilderness is far away. The wilderness is wherever the curse lives; therefore there is no distinct borderline between that and the land of man. The land of man must be maintained, and the desert land must be kept out, in that the blessing is preserved.[1]

In the trackless desert beyond the cemeteries evil spirits live. The Hebrew inevitably assimilate some of the native Canaanite beliefs about desert dragons, demons, and monsters, no doubt reinforcing their own lore. Evil spirits include the hairy satyr (sair), the storm devil (shed), the bowling dragon and monster (tan, tannin), the winged female night monster (lilith), and the collective figure for all the desert spirits, Azazel.[2]

Isaiah describes a demon and beast-infested wilderness:

> Thorns shall grow over its strongholds,
>   nettles and thistles in its fortresses.
> It shall be the haunt of jackals,
>   an abode for ostriches.
> And wild beasts shall meet with hyenas,
>   the satyr shall cry to his fellow;
> yea, there shall the night hag alight,
>   and find for herself a resting place.[3]

In Deut. 32:17 appeasement of the storm demons (shedhim) in the Canaanite manner is disapproved of:

> They sacrificed to demons which were no gods,
>   to new gods they had never known,
> to new gods that have come in of late,
>   whom your fathers had never dreaded.

Yet there is a Hebraic annual appeasement of some of the wilderness spirits in the collective figure of Azazel. Aaron takes a goat for God and one for the demon of the desert: "But the goat on which the lot fell for Azazel shall be presented alive before the Lord to make atonement over it, that it may be sent away into the wilderness to Azazel." [1]

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[1] Pedersen, p. 460. [2] Williams, p. 13.

[3] Is. 34:13-14.

The opposite of the land of blessing is not only the land of the curse but also the land of the grave. The world that lies in the light of the sun is the land of life.[2] Below it is the land of death.[3] Sheol, the collective term for all the graves, comes in the later stages of the Old Testament to be linked with primordial chaos and the wilderness[4] as the opposite of the land of people, the land of life. In Hosea God in his wrath calls the plague up from Sheol and at the same time the east wind in from the desert to dry out the springs of the country and strip its riches.[5] Both Sheol and the desert are characterized by chaos, that is, the lack of strength, firmness, and law.[6]

The sinner is already in Sheol. After the nether world has come to stand for the home of the wicked, it, like the wilderness, crops up in the land of people wherever evil prevails. Where there is darkness, evil, unhappiness, disease, or other trouble, Sheol is there. When people escape from misery and "behold the light," they escape from

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[1] Williams, pp. 13-14. Lev. 16:10.

[2] Is. 38:11; 53.8; Ezek. 32:32.

[3] Pedersen, p. 460. [4] Williams, p. 13.

[5] Hos. 13:14-15. [6] Pedersen, p. 463.

Sheol.[1]

The land of life is surrounded by the land of death. The wilderness lies outside, Sheol and the ocean below, but they encroach from all sides, and make the world a mixture of life and death, of light and darkness. The Israelites fear that some day evil shall become stronger and chaos come to prevail in the world of people. It is vital to have sufficient blessing to be able to keep evil down and therefore chaos under control. Thus the world of people must be upheld continually through the renewal of the blessing.[2]

To the two realms of the desert and death are gradually joined a third, the deep, the ocean that lies curbed under the earth.[3] Like the desert it is the haunt of serpents and dragons.[4] It also is chaos, tōhū,[5] lurking under the world of people. The deep and the realm of death are both subterraneous and merge entirely so that their spacial relation to one another cannot be sharply defined.[6]

Creation consists in establishing lawfulness out of confusion, meaning habitable land out of desert land, light out of darkness, a continent out of the ocean. In creation, a land fit for habitation replaces chaos.[7]

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[1] Ibid., p. 466. [2] Ibid., pp. 470-71.

[3] Williams, p. 14; Pedersen, p. 460.

[4] Williams, p. 14. [5] Gen. 1:2; Job 26:7.

[6] Pedersen, p. 463.

[7] Is. 45:18. Pedersen, p. 472.

Psalm 104 describes how God overcomes the waters of chaos covering the world:

> Thou didst cover it with the deep as with a garment;
> the waters stood above the mountains.
> At thy rebuke they fled;
> at the sound of thy thunder they took to flight.
> The mountains rose, the valleys sank down
> to the place which thou didst appoint for them.
> Thou didst set a bound which they should not pass,
> so that they might not again cover the earth.[1]

God's fight against the ocean of chaos, tehom, is sometimes described as a fight with a dragon, tannīn, called Rahab or Leviathan.[2] God pierced the dragon and split it, meaning he set up barriers against the lawless swelling of the ocean and saved the firm land:[3]

> Was it not thou that didst cut Rahab in pieces,
> that didst pierce the dragon?
> Was it not thou that didst dry up the sea. . . ?[4]

> Thou dost rule the raging of the sea;
> when its waves rise, thou stillest them.
> Thou didst crush Rahab like a carcass,
> thou didst scatter thy enemies with thy mighty arm.
> The heavens are thine, the earth also is thine;
> the world and all that is in it, thou hast founded them.[5]

The fight which took place at the creation is constantly occurring. "Leviathan still plays in the deep (ps. 104, 26, cf. Is. 27,1; Ezek. 29,3; 32.2); chaos still threatens from the waters; watch must be set over the dragon (Job 7, 12), the law of the bounds of the ocean must be constantly renewed."[1]

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[1] Verses 6-9. Cf. Jer. 5:20-22; Job 38:8-11; Prov. 8:20.

[2] Job 9:13.

[3] Pedersen, p. 472.

[4] Is. 51:9b-10a.

[5] Ps. 89:9-11.

The myth of God's victory over the dragon expresses the predominance of life and blessing. As chaos the ocean is a curse, but God, through his victory, subjects it to the law, thus changing it into a blessing which provides life-giving water. The victory over the chaos of the deep therefore produces rain and springs.[2] Immediately after the account of the subjugation of the ocean Psalm 104 describes the life-giving water:

> Thou makest springs gush forth in the valleys;
>   they flow between the hills,
> they give drink to every beast of the field;
>   the wild asses quench their thirst.
> By them the birds of the air have their habitation;
>   they sing among the branches.
> From thy lofty abode thou waterest the mountains;
>   the earth is satisfied with the fruit of thy work.
>
> Thou dost cause the grass to grow for the cattle,
>   and plants for man to cultivate,
> that he may bring forth food from the earth,
>   and wine to gladden the heart of man,
> oil to make his face shine,
>   and bread to strengthen man's heart.
> The trees of the Lord are watered abundantly,
>   the cedars of Lebanon which he planted.
> In them the birds build their nests;
>   the stork has her home in the fir trees.[3]

Thus the wilderness, seemingly extended by God's wrath during periods of moral defection on the part of Israel, becomes a symbol of the land of curse or chaos, for the primordial ocean, and for death.[4] The three non-worlds are united in Ezekiel's description of the destruction of Tyre:

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[1] Pedersen, p. 472. [2] Pedersen, p. 473.

[3] Verses 10-17.

[4] Pedersen, pp. 463-4; Williams, p. 14.

> "For thus says the Lord God: When I make you a city laid waste, like the cities that are not inhabited, when I bring up the deep over you, and the great waters cover you, then I will thrust you down with those who descend into the Pit, to the people of old, and I will make you to dwell in the nether world, among primeval ruins, with those who go down to the Pit, so that you will not be inhabited or have a place in the land of the living. I will bring you to a dreadful end, and you shall be no more; though you be sought for, you will never be found again, says the Lord God."[1]

The living city becomes dead, a desert land, ruins, sunk into the nether world, submerged in the ocean.[2]

Common to the three non-worlds of the desert, death, and the deep, is darkness. Its proper home is in Sheol. Jeremiah speaks of the desert as a land of drought and darkness, where no one travels nor dwells.[3] Job speaks of being driven out of the world as being thrust from light into darkness.[4] Those made to wander in a pathless waste grope in the dark as though drunken.[5]

Light is identified with life, with blessing and peace, with righteousness and truth. Pedersen describes it: "Earth is penetrated by light, i.e. by vitality. It is upheld by the great reserve of power abiding in God; by his light it is that man 'sees light' (Ps. 36:9)."[6] But darkness also encroaches into the world of people and manifests itself in troubles, misery, and death.[1]

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[1] Ezek. 26:19-21. [2] Pedersen, p. 464.

[3] Jer. 2:6, cf. 31. [4] Job 18:18.

[5] Job 12:25. Pedersen, pp. 464-65.

[6] Pedersen, p. 465.

Wilderness Has a Positive Value

God's plan of creation provides suitable habitat for the wild creatures, who share the world with human beings; the existence of those creatures is valuable in their own right, not because of their utility for human beings. Verses 10-18 of Psalm 104 describe God's continuing care for the earth and its inhabitants, both animal and human. The psalm says that God makes springs to provide drink for the beasts of the field and the wild asses. The birds have their habitation by them. God himself causes the grass to grow for the cattle. God provides for the trees to be watered abundantly so that they might live, and they in turn provide homes for the birds, places for them to build their nests. "The high mountains are for the wild goats,"[2] indicates that at least part of the purpose for the existence of the high mountains is to provide a habitat for the wild goats. The parallel statement is the confirmation, "The rocks are a refuge for the badgers."[3] Part of the purpose for the continued existence of the rocks is to provide a refuge for the badgers.

The night and the day are made for the benefit of the animals as well as of human beings. At night "the beasts of the forest creep forth."[1] Verse 21 says, "The young lions roar for their prey, seeking their food from God." That is, God provides a time and place for lions to seek food, too. Then, at sunrise, the lions go back to their dens, and men come out of their houses to work until evening. This psalmist sees the alternation of day and night as part of God's plan to provide for both humans and animals. Darkness, as stated earlier, is related to wilderness or chaos, but it can have purpose in the plan of creation.

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ps. 109:18. [3] Ibid.

The psalmist praises the Lord for his wisdom in making the earth, which is full of his creatures, and the sea, "which teems with things innumerable."[2] He praises God for the variety and quantity of life on the earth and in the sea. He praises God for his wisdom in creating the various forms of wildlife and providing for them, with no reference to their usefulness to himself. The sea, like darkness, is related to wilderness or chaos, but it too can have purpose in God's plan of creation.

A second value of the wilderness is that natural phenomena, possessing life and personality, join people in praising God.

A thought that occurs numerous times in the Psalms is that various aspects of creation should praise the Lord. In Psalm 96, a hymn celebrating God's kingship, all nations and the physical universe are summoned to join in his praise. Not only are people asked to praise God, but also the heavens are to be glad! The earth is to rejoice! The sea and everything in it are to roar their praises and the field and everything in it are to exult. The trees of the wood will sing for joy before the Lord because he will come to judge the earth. The heavens, the earth, the sea and its inhabitants, the field and its inhabitants, and the trees all have personality, enabling them to praise God.

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[1] Verse 20; cf. Job 38:39-50.

[2] Verse 25.

Psalm 98 summons all the earth to make a joyful noise to the Lord. The sea and all that fills it are to roar their praises, as should the world and those who dwell in it. The floods are to clap their hands, and the hills should sing for joy together before the Lord. The people with their voices and lyre, trumpet, and horn are to join together with other parts of the physical universe in praising the Lord, for they are all parts of God's creation.

The whole world, nature as well as people, worships God:

> Thou crownest the year with thy bounty;
> the tracks of thy chariot drip with fatness.
> The pastures of the wilderness drip,
> the hills gird themselves with joy.
> The meadows clothe themselves with flocks,
> the valleys deck themselves with grain,
> they shout and sing together for joy.[1]
>
> Let the heavens praise thy wonders, O Lord. . . .[2]
>
> Worship the Lord in holy array;
> tremble before him all the earth![3]
>
> The heavens are telling the glory of God;
> and the firmament proclaims his handiwork.

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[1] Ps. 65:11-13. [2] Ps. 85:5a. [3] Ps. 96:9.

Day to day pours forth speech,
  and night to night declares knowledge.
There is no speech, nor are there words;
  their voice is not heard;
yet their voice goes out through all the earth,
  and their words to the end of the world.[1]

The idea that various aspects of creation join in to sing praises to the Lord also occurs in Isaiah:

Sing, O heavens, for the Lord has done it;
  shout, O depths of the earth;
break forth into singing, O mountains,
  O forest, and every tree in it!
For the Lord has redeemed Jacob,
  and will be glorified in Israel.[2]

The wild beasts will honor me,
  the jackals and the ostriches;
for I give water in the wilderness,
  rivers in the desert,
to give drink to my chosen people.[3]

For you shall go out in joy,
  and be led forth in peace;
the mountains and the hills before you
  shall break forth into singing,
  and all the trees of the field shall clap their
  hands.[4]

These sources treat all of nature as alive and personal, capable of praising. They do not show a Hebrew nature worship, like the Indian, but they show a similarity in the personalizing of the various aspects of nature and in their having an important position in the world.

Bernard Anderson writes: "The doctrine of creation affirms that every creature is assigned a place in God's plan in order that it may perform its appointed role in

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[1] Ps. 19:1-4. [2] Is. 44:23. [3] Is. 43:20.

[4] Is. 44:12. This describes the new Exodus into an Eden-like land.

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serving and glorifying the Creator."[1] The Bible implies that nature's singing and worship of God are enjoyable or pleasing to him.[2]

A third value of this wilderness is that it provides potential spiritual experiences for people. Events of fundamental importance to the history and faith of Israel occur in the desert: the revelation of God's name, the theophany on Mount Sinai, the establishment of the covenant with Israel, and the giving of the law.[3] Insofar as Israel's belief in her election as God's chosen people originates with Moses rather than Abraham, it is rooted in those events in the wilderness.[4]

The conception common to Israel and her neighbors of the desert as a symbol of death, chaos, and darkness is interwoven in the Bible with the competing conception of the redemptive significance of the Sinai desert.[5] Because God made his covenant with Israel in the wilderness of Sinai, the wilderness is thought of as a place of redemptive, cove-

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[1] "The Earth Is the Lord's: An Essay in the Biblical Doctrine of Creation," Interpretation 9 (January 1955).

[2] Santmire, p. 86.

[3] Ulrich Mauser, Christ in the Wilderness: The Wilderness Theme in the Second Gospel and its Basis in the Biblical Tradition, Studies in Biblical Theology (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1963), p. 15.

[4] Mauser, pp. 15, 28-29 deals with Abraham vs. Moses as the origin of the idea of election.

[5] Williams, p. 15.

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nantal bliss. The pre-exilic prophets tend to review the forty years of wandering as a period when God and Israel were particularly close, and God loved his chosen people as the bridegroom his bride.[1] Jeremiah depicts God as saying: "I remember the devotion of your youth, your love as a bride, how you followed me in the wilderness, in a land not sown."[2] Hosea prophesies that God will again draw Israel into a relationship like the nuptial period in Sinai, even though she has been a wayward wife:

> Therefore, behold, I will allure her, and bring her into the wilderness, and speak tenderly to her. . . . And there she shall answer as in the days of her youth, as at the time when she came out of the land of Egypt.[3]

In Deuteronomy it is said that God found Israel "in a desert land, and in the howling waste of the wilderness; he encircled him, he cared for him, he kept him as the apple of his eye."[4] These expressions represent the idyllic or nuptial conception of the wilderness in which God made a covenant with Israel, which betrothed them for all history.[5] The significance is not that the wilderness is itself good but that it is a location of redemptive significance in Israel's history.

The Idyllic or nuptial conception of the sojourn in the Sinai desert is not the only interpretation. The forty-years' wandering also resulted in the wilderness' being thought of as a place of testing and tutelage:[1] "And you shall remember all the way which the Lord your God has led you these forty years in the wilderness, that he might humble you, testing you to know what was in your heart, whether you would keep his commandments or not."[2] The Psalmist remembers: "How often they rebelled against him in the wilderness and grieved him in the desert! They tested him again and again, and provoked the Holy one of Israel."[3] Psalm 106 recites God's great deeds and the obtuseness of Israel: "They soon forgot his [God's] works; they did not wait for his counsel. But they had a wanton craving in the wilderness, and put God to the test in the desert."[4] The golden calf set up in the wilderness would always remind Israel of her waywardness.[5]

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[1] Ibid. [2] 2:2. [3] 2:14-15. [4] 32:10-11.

[5] Williams, p. 16.

Deuteronomy regards it as crucial that the lesson learned during the sojourn in the desert must never be forgotten if the fruition of the promise is to be attained. Deuteronomy recalls the occurrences of that time: Israel's miserable condition during slavery in Egypt, God's miraculous help during the exodus, and the rebellion of a stubborn people.[6] Deuteronomy insists that Israel must always remember that God chose, guided, and upheld his people in an act of free grace; that Israel is utterly dependent on this continued grace; and that Israel should recognize her own sinfulness.[1]

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[1] Williams, p. 16. [2] Dt. 8:2-3. [3] 78:40-41.

[4] Verses 13-14. [5] Williams, p. 17.

[6] Dt. 9:7. Mauser, p. 33.

Besides the wilderness understood geographically as an encroaching desert and the sojourn in the wilderness of Sinai interpreted both as a period of covenantal bliss and as experience of temptation, the Old Testament has a conception of any wilderness as a place of refuge and contemplation. This school of thought idealizes the wilderness or nomadic stage in Israel's history, when God's righteousness is believed to have prevailed more than after the change to agricultural and urban life. The Rechabites, with whom Jeremiah sympathizes, are the best-known group to organize a return to the desert and the nomadic ideal.[2] Elijah withdraws to the refuge of the wilderness and cave on Mount Horeb.[3] It is also by way of the wilderness of Damascus[4] that Elijah is bidden by God to appoint Jehu a new king of Israel and Elisha the new prophet. The Rechabite Jonadab supports the "wilderness" king Jehu.[5] Under God's protection Elisha and his prophets withdraw to the wilderness of Jordan[6] after they struggle against Baalism in the cities.[7]

A final Old Testament conception, that of any wilderness as a place of discipline and purgation, is found in some of the prophets.

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[1] Mauser, p. 36. [2] Jer. 35. [3] 1 Kg. 19:4-18.

[4] 1 Kg. 9:15-16. [5] 2 Kg. 10:15, 23.

[6] 2 Kg. 4:38. [7] Williams, p. 17.

Hosea is the first prophet who clearly expresses the expectation of a new time which Israel will have to spend in the wilderness. If the motherland is disgraced by the worship of Baals, God will withhold the fertility of the land[1] because only he, and not the idols, can give the blessing.[2] The desert condition is brought upon the country by God's wrath. If God's appeal to Israel[3] or his threat to withdraw all blessings from the country does not succeed,[4] then Israel has to be removed from the good country whose idols have made her err and placed again in the wilderness for the purpose of therapeutic punishment.[5] Hosea warns: "I am the Lord your God from the land of Egypt: I will again make you dwell in tents, as in the days of the appointed feast."[6] This appears to be the final act of judgment,[7] but Hosea sees in it also the renewal of hope. In the wilderness God will again "speak tenderly" to his people,[8] and Israel's former love and trust in God will be restored.[9]

Wolff suggests that already in Amos the motif of return to a genuine status of sonship to God is rooted in the wilderness tradition.[1] He infers a relation between the passages depicting the forty years in the wilderness as a model of God's helping power[2] and as a time of normative character for the right kind of worship in Israel[3] to the passage where God grieves over Israel's refusal to return to him although he brought disasters upon them.[4] However, more direct evidence is in Am. 5:25-27:

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[1] Hos. 2:12. [2] Hos. 2:5, 8. [3] Hos. 2:2.

[4] Hos. 2:9-13. [5] Mauser, p. 45; Williams, p. 18.

[6] 12:9. [7] Hos. 2:14. [8] Ibid.

[9] Mauser, pp. 45-46.

> "Did you bring to me sacrifices and offerings the forty years in the wilderness, O house of Israel? You shall take up Sakkuth your king, and Kaiwan your star-god, your images, which you made for yourselves; therefore I will take you into exile beyond Damascus," says the Lord, whose name is the God of hosts.

As in Hosea, Israel has to return to the desert[5] because she has refused to return to God.[6] Wolff points out that in Old Testament prophecy return to God is a return to the wilderness, where God's history with his people began.[7]

Ezekiel's description of a second exodus into the desert is more somber than Hosea's.[8] In the first exodus Israel was led to "the wilderness of the land of Egypt."[9] In the second, "I will bring you out from the peoples and gather you out of the countries where you are scattered, with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, and with wrath poured out; and I will bring you into the wilderness of the peoples, and there I will enter into judgment with you face to face."[1] In this judgment every transgressor and rebel will be purged from the nation.[2] More optimistically, Ezekiel promises that after the purification a remnant will return to the land of Israel and they will be "as a pleasing odor" to God.[3] But Ezekiel views the wilderness as the place of judgment, of God's horrible punishment to evildoers, in distinction from Hosea, who views the wilderness as the location of Israel's renewed worship.[4]

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[1] H. W. Wolff, "Das Thema 'Umkehr' in der Alttestamentlichen Theologie," ZTK 48. Jahrgang, 1951, 2. Heft, pp. 129-48.

[2] 2:10. [3] 5:25. [4] 4:6-11; Mauser, p. 47.

[5] Hos. 2:14. [6] Hos. 11:5. [7] Wolff, p. 137.

[8] Mauser, p. 48. [9] Ezek. 20:36.

Deutero-Isaiah during the latter part of the exile period resembles Ezekiel and Hosea in expressing both fear and hope concerning a second wilderness period for Israel. He announces God's mercy to a despondent people.[5] The exodus out of the dispersion back to Palestine will again be through the wilderness, but there will be a highway in the desert[6] and water gushing from the rock.[7] Unlike the flight from Egypt the second exodus will not be in haste or fear.[8] The destination of the journey, Jerusalem, made a desert through destruction by the Babylonians, will be transformed into an Eden.[9] Israel, as well as nature, will be transformed into new life by God's spirit.[1]

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[1] Ezek. 20:24-25. [2] Ezek. 20:38. [3] Ezek. 20:41-42.

[4] Mauser, pp. 49-50. [5] Ibid., p. 50. [6] Is. 40:3.

[7] Is. 48:20-21; Mauser, pp. 50-51.

[8] Is. 52:12; cf. Ex. 12:39.

[9] Is. 51:3; Mauser, p. 51.

From the time of the Babylonian captivity to the New Testament period, the prophetic hope of a new time of grace in an exodus into the wilderness retains its vitality and even flares up in the heat of eschatological expectancy.[2]

The wilderness tradition of the Old Testament offers at least a potential theme for the interpretation of Jesus' ministry. Ulrich Mauser, in Christ in the Wilderness, attempts to show that Mark uses traditions about the wilderness in a way peculiar to him and highly significant for his theology.[3]

Mauser sees the Old Testament wilderness theme as Mark's basis for his prologue in 1:1-13, where he restates the prophecy of the second exodus, which is to begin in the wilderness, and the prophecy's fulfillment in John the Baptist and Jesus the Son of God.[4] Jesus' baptism and wilderness sojourn, related in the prologue, are the foundation of his whole ministry.[5] The rest of the gospel grows out of the prologue. Jesus is tempted in his confrontation with Satan and is helped by God. Mauser says, "To live in this condition is to live in the wilderness."[6]

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[1] Is. 44:3. Mauser, p. 52. [2] Mauser, p. 53.

[3] Mauser, p. 13. [4] Mauser, pp. 101-102.

[5] J. M. Robinson, The Problem of History in Mark, Studies in Biblical Theology, no. 21 (London: SCM Press, 1957), p. 31.

[6] P. 102.

Mauser tries to show that the wilderness passages in Mark are structurally and thematically related to the mountain and the sea. All passages referring to the wilderness, the mountain, and the sea in Mark follow a victory against Satan in the ministry of Jesus or his disciples; they imply a withdrawal from the scene of activity; and they are followed by an indication of a mass attraction to Jesus.[1] The victories among the crowds, Mauser theorizes, change into scenes of cosmic struggle with the evil power in solitude at the wilderness or the sea, where the battle is going on between the forces which manifest hostility toward God and the Son of God who has come to destroy them.[2] Jesus' withdrawals are thus more nearly renewed attacks than retreat.[3] Then, when the crowds follow, they are not simply attracted, but are made witnesses and partakers of the eschatological struggle between Jesus and evil at the locations of this ongoing struggle.[4]

Most passages connected with the wilderness, the mountain, and the sea are set before the turning-point of the Gospel in 8:27. Jesus' withdrawal to these places shows that the final victory over Satan is not yet achieved in the miracles, but is achieved in Jesus' obedience to his destiny of suffering and death, the central theme of the second half of the Gospel. It is, therefore, no longer necessary in the second half to speak of retreats to the wilderness because "the ultimate goal of the way through the wilderness is revealed in the predictions of the passion; the confrontation of the Son of man with the power of evil leads to his death."[1] Thus, the retreats to desert, mountain, and sea link the public ministry of the wanderer through the wilderness with his way to the cross. "The whole success of his ministry, on the other hand, is a manifestation of the hidden power of his way through the desert as the man whose repentance is true."[2]

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[1] Mauser, pp. 138-39. [2] Ibid., p. 138.

[3] Ibid., pp. 141-42.

[4] Mauser, p. 143. The baptism and feeding stories, Mk 1:9-11, 6:30-44, 8:1-10; the sea miracles, 4:35-41; 6:47-52; the transfiguration on the mountain, 9:2-8; Jesus' retreat to the mountain before the second sea miracle.

It is thus possible, as Mauser does, to interpret Mark's account of Jesus' ministry in terms of the Old Testament wilderness tradition, in which the redemption of God's people is initiated in the desert. Even if this interpretation may be more thoroughgoing for Mauser than for Mark himself--or for Jesus, this pervasive theme of Jewish religion was surely taken into consideration by both Jesus and Mark as part of the significance of Jesus' ministry and its origin in the wilderness. The theme weaves through the Bible from the wandering in the desert in the Old Testament to Jesus' ministry in the New Testament.

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[1] Mauser, p. 142.

[2] Mauser, p. 142. See Wilhelm Wrede, Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien, 2nd ed., (1913), pp. 135-36, for an opposing view of Jesus' retreats as an effort to maintain the Messianic secret.

The Bible Does Not Advocate a Peculiarly Destructive View of Land Ownership or Exploitation

The Bible does not advocate a peculiar view of land ownership or exploitation. Aldo Leopold's accusation that Abraham started such a peculiar view[1] is unfounded. Economic practices among Hebrews and early Christians were not intrinsic to Biblical religion but to the culture of the area. There is a psychic relation between the people and the land, the people influencing the blessing of the land, and the land demanding a certain respect.

Defense of Abraham

The conservationist Aldo Leopold in his Sand County Almanac accuses, "Conservation is getting nowhere because it is incompatible with our Abrahamic concept of land."[2] He also claims, "Abraham knew exactly what the land was for: it was to drip milk and honey into Abraham's mouth."[3] According to the only primary source on Abraham, the Bible, these accusations are unfounded. There is no evidence for any "Abrahamic concept of land." Abraham left his home in Ur and journeyed to Canaan. The promise of land to Abraham is stated in several places. One statement is in Gen.

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[1] Aldo Leopold, A Sand County Almanac and Sketches Here and There (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. viii, 204-5.

[2] Ibid., p. viii. This book is nearly a Bible for the ecological movement.

[3] Ibid., pp. 204-5.

13:14-17:

> The Lord said to Abram, after Lot had separated from him, "Lift up your eyes, and look from the place where you are, northward and southward and eastward and westward; for all the land which you see I will give to you and to your descendants for ever. I will make your descendants as the dust of the earth; so that if one can count the dust of the earth, your descendants also can be counted. Arise, walk through the length and the breadth of the land, for I will give it to you."

This does not demonstrate what Leopold calls the "Abrahamic concept of land" or an ethic of conquering and devastating the biotic community. It does not even demonstrate the principle of private property. It is, rather, demonstrative of the principle of tribal possession of land. The land was to be a large amount of land for him and his descendants, not a specific parcel for private ownership. There is no suggestion that Abraham used the land in any more detrimental way than the other people around him.

Genesis 23 is of interest in this regard. Abraham's wife Sarah died, and Abraham went to the Hittites and said, "I am a stranger and a sojourner among you; give me property among you for a burying place, that I may bury my dead out of my sight."[1] They answered he should go ahead and bury his dead in the choicest of their sepulchres. He replied that he would like to buy a certain field with a cave in it. This specific field was owned by Ephron the son of Zohar. Abraham said he would pay full price for it. Ephron replied, no, he would give him the field and cave. Abraham

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[1] Gen. 23:4.

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answered that he wanted to pay for it. The story concludes:

> Ephron answered Abraham, "My lord, listen to me; a piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver, what is that between you and me? Bury your dead." Abraham agreed with Ephron; and Abraham weighed out for Ephron the silver which he had named in the hearing of the Hittites, four hundred shekels of silver, according to the weights current among the merchants.[1]

Cuthbert A. Simpson in his exegesis of Genesis in The Interpreter's Bible[2] points out that Abraham had no right to own land because he was merely "a stranger and a sojourner." He was asking for that right. What is significant here is that Abraham, who is portrayed in most of the traditions as a peaceful semi-nomad, is asking to buy some land from the Hittites for a burial place.[3] Abraham, it appears, had no legal title to any land in Canaan. But the Hittites had the well-established practice of buying and selling fields for money. This makes one fact clear. The practice of private ownership of land did not come into being with the Hebrew faith. It was already a part of the gentile culture of this part of the Middle East. There is no evidence that there is anything about the "Abrahamic concept of land" which is more destructive than, or different from, the concept of land which the gentiles of that area held.

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[1] Gen. 23:14-16.

[2] Ed. George Arthur Buttrick et al., 12 vols. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1952), 1:467.

[3] This is almost the opposite of the Anglo-American practice of buying land from the Indians, who had no concept of selling land and no authority from their tribe, in most cases, to do it.

Leopold's second accusation against Abraham is that "Abraham knew exactly what the land was for: it was to drip milk and honey into Abraham's mouth." As for the land which he hoped and believed would belong to his descendants eventually, this was not going to bring economic advantage to Abraham himself--although he does appear to have been rich by the standards of the time. But there is no evidence that his wealth came from any peculiar land ethic. He does not appear to have laid waste the land or to have been particularly disrespectful toward it.

Thus, the accusation that Abraham started a peculiar concept of land ownership or exploitation is unfounded.

Psychic Unity with the Land

The land of people is wherever people live, but its center is where the Israelites live. The people's living together with the land is what gives it its character as the land of people. The landed property of the family belongs to the psychic totality of the family. It determines the life of the family and is imbued with the blessing of the family, not of the individual alone, who is a link in the family as extending through the generations.[1]

The person and family also belong to a national whole, and as the life of the family is connected with the inherited property, analogously, the life of the whole people is connected with the "land of inheritance." History entitles Israel to the land.[1] It is a question of whose life has left its impress upon the land.[2]

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[1] Pedersen, p. 474.

The Israelites call Canaan the land of the fathers.[3] A people is a psychical, invisible whole, in which all common experiences merge into the common soul. A psychic stock is renewed and influenced as it passes from generation to generation. The soul of the people and the soul of the family both belong to the individual. What the fathers have handed down is inherited by later generations, whose experiences in turn act on the fathers. The people bear both the blessing and the guilt of the fathers. All events merge into a psychic whole.[4] Out of the history of the people rises an invisible figure of the ancestor, bearing the impress of features left by experiences. The ancestor continues to share in what happens.[5] Pedersen sums up the relationship:

> That the land has been given to the fathers therefore means that it is indissolubly bound up with the soul of the Israelites and fused with it. The blessing of the Israelites and the blessing of the country are identical. When the successors maintain their right to the country, then it is a maintenance of their soul, of which the country forms part.[6]

This close relation between the land and the life of the people is only possible because earth itself is alive, imbued with a soul and able to receive mental subject-matter. The relation between the earth and its owner is a covenant-relation, a psychic community. The earth's own nature demands respect and must not be ill-treated.[1]

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid., p. 475.

[3] Gen. 48:21; 50:24; Deut. 1:8; 6:23, 31:20-21.

[4] Pedersen, p. 475. [5] Ibid., pp. 475-76.

[6] Ibid., p. 476.

The farmer, according to Pedersen, "is to deal kindly with the earth, to uphold its blessing and then take what it yields on its own accord. If he exhausts it, then he attacks its soul and kills it; after that it will only bring forth thorns, thistles and whatever else pertains to the wilderness."[2]

Consequently every seventh year the owner must leave the earth entirely to its own nature.[3] For this time the earth is to be free, not subjected to the will of people.

> Thus there are a number of rules to be observed in relation to the earth. Its blessing must be tended, its nature not violated, and yet it is to be kept close to the soul of man and received into it. If it is violated, it revolts and becomes a wilderness; and if the people lose the blessing, then it taints the earth and is spewed out of it.[4]

The Biblical Concept of Dominion of the Natural World Is One of Stewardship, Humility, Love, and Awe

Psalm 104 concludes, "Let sinners be consumed from the earth, and let the wicked be no more!"[5] The editors of the Oxford Annotated Bible, Herbert G. May and Bruce M.

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[1] Ibid., p. 479. [2] Ibid.

[3] Lev. 25:1-7; Exod. 23:10-11; Pedersen, p. 479.

[4] Pedersen, p. 480. [5] Verse 35a.

Metzger, interpret this verse:

> The psalmist prays for the restoration of the original, intended harmony of creation. Ancient Hebrew man tended to use the personal and concrete words (sinners...wicked) where we should use the impersonal and abstract ('sin,' 'wickedness').

"The restoration of the original, intended harmony of creation" depends on the disappearance of sin and wickedness. Thus, the psalmist concludes this ecological psalm with a prayer for the human and moral part of the original harmony of creation. Human morality is a part of the intended harmony of creation, along with the provisions for all the land and sea animals, plants, and human beings previously mentioned in this psalm. The Biblical concept of dominion, as a part of the harmony of creation, is limited by the concepts of stewardship, humility, love, and awe.

Stewardship and Care, not Exploitation

The Biblical attitude toward the earth is one of stewardship and care, not exploitation, in the exercise of dominion over God's holy earth and its creatures, consistent with Jesus' parables of the Good and Bad Servants[1] and of the Talents[2] and Adam's being put in the Garden of Eden "to till it and keep it."[3] The theme of stewardship is deeply rooted Biblically. It expresses both the freedom and the responsibility (to God) of humanity toward the earth.

The theme of stewardship runs throughout the Old and

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[1] Mt. 24:45-51 and Lk. 12:42-48.

[2] Mt. 25:14-30 and Lk. 19:12-27.

[3] Gen. 2:15.

New Testaments and is particularly prominent in Jesus' parables. In both the Parable of the Good and Bad Servants (Matt. 24: 45-51 and Luke 12:42-48) and the Parable of the Talents (Matt. 25:14-30 and Luke 19:12-27) God is depicted as an absentee landlord. The steward is expected to look after the affairs of the master while he is away. If he fails in his responsibility, he will be cast into the outer darkness. The parable of the absentee landlord gives notice of what happens when responsibility is evaded. Responsibility is linked with accountability--a day of reckoning. Deut. 8:17, 19 warns:

> Beware lest you say in your heart, "My power and the might of my hand have gotten me this wealth. . . . And if you forget the Lord your God and go after other gods and serve them and worship them, I solemnly warn you this day that you shall surely perish.

Assigning to people dominion over all the earth occurs in a particular context in Genesis 1.[1] For each of the seven days creation is called good. Previous to the first day there is a pre-existent, undifferentiated, evil chaos.[2] In creation God brings order out of chaos by separating it, and proclaims the separation as good.

In Genesis 1 there are separations other than that between people and nature. The firmament separates the waters above from the waters below;[1] the waters under the heavens are separated from the dry land;[2] and the lights in the heavens separate day from night.[3] Plants, fruit trees, sea creatures, birds, cattle, creeping things, and beasts of the earth are differentiated according to their kinds.[4] The entire creation is characterized by a pattern of separation, which is not alienation but unity, perfection, and harmony, as opposed to chaos.[5]

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[1] Phyllis Trible, "Ancient Priests and Modern Polluters," Andover Newton Quarterly 12 (November 1971): 75.

[2] Trible, p. 76. See E. A. Speiser, Genesis, The Anchor Bible (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1964), pp. 11-13.

Along with differentiation, responsibility, or dominion, occurs throughout creation. The firmament controls the waters.[6] The greater light rules the day and the lesser light the night.[7] The earth is to produce plants and fruit trees.[8] Earth and the waters are to "bring forth living creatures."[9] These parallels of responsibility throughout the overall scheme of harmony in the cosmos temper the dominion given to people.[10]

Blessing is also given both to people and to some of nature. Fish, birds, and people receive the blessing to "be fruitful and multiply."[11] Fish are to fill the sea, birds the air, and people the earth.[12]

However, even though people are identified with creation and share separation with the rest of creation, their separation is special. Gen. 1:26-30 shows the uniqueness of people. Only for them is there a plural formula of resolution, "Let us make," and the phrase, "Image of God." People alone are given dominion over "the fish of the sea, the birds of the air, and every living thing that moves upon the earth."[1]

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[1] 1:6-7. [2] V. 9. [3] Vv. 14, 18. [4] Vv. 11, 21, 24-25.

[5] Trible, p. 76. [6] Vv. 6-7. [7] V. 16. [8] V. 11.

[9] Vv. 20, 24. [10] Ibid. [11] Vv. 22, 28.

[12] Vv. 20, 24.

"Dominion over the earth" means responsibility. Context suggests that this responsibility is to maintain the perfection of creation, which God has pronounced good. People are the surrogates of God, and they exercise dominion authentically only as a gift originating from God. The dominion assigned people is finite. It does not include, for instance, control over the firmament and the lights, and it is limited by the affirmation of the goodness of nature.[2]

Trible puts forth several arguments that Gen. 1:26-28 relates people to nature harmoniously:

> (1) Dominion over earth is not alienation from nature. Separation belongs to the very fabric of all creation. Man over nature is man related positively to nature. Dominion is involvement. (2) Dominion is not antagonism. Man over nature is not man against nature. Both dominion and nature belong to the scheme of perfection. (3) Dominion is not license. Man over nature is man under God. He is responsible man. (4) Dominion permits manipulation of nature to serve the goal of goodness. Dominion prohibits exploitation. It censures abuse. It sanctions use. (5) Dominion finds its place and its meaning in a hierarchy of harmony which characterizes the priestly understanding of the cosmos. Harmony is neither

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[1] Gen. 1:28. Trible, p. 77. [2] Trible, p. 77.

> sameness nor equality. It is all levels of the cosmos fulfilling their own creation, each according to its kind. Over the hierarchy is God the Creator. He establishes orders and ranks and delegates powers and responsibilities. On earth man is his representative, charged with the highest responsibility to maintain harmony even as he participates in it. This hierarchy of harmony means communion and completion.[1]

Genesis 1 says that God saw that earth and everything in it were good. Thus, a technology grounded in dominion may only enhance, not endanger or pollute, the earth. Pollution, and thus the destruction of creation, violates the given hierarchy of harmony. Pollution results from people's disobedience, not from their dominion.[2]

There are two main creation stories in the Old Testament. The P story is in Gen. 1:1-2:4a, and the J story in Gen. 2:4b-3:24. Only in the P account are people given dominion over the earth, and they become God's stewards, caring for the world that God has provided. Conrad Bonifazi, commenting on human dominion and stewardship in the P account, says:

> Man shares with God an identity of interests and responsibility. Man is answerable for what goes on here, as the cosmos in its entirety is continually dependent upon God's care for its survival. Here, perhaps, is a source of the notion of creation as a continuous process because it requires the constant care, activity and solicitude of God.[3]

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[1] Trible, pp. 77-78. This distinction between "use" and "abuse" is made by Frederick Elder in Crisis in Eden (New York: Abingdon Press, 1970), p. 86.

[2] Ibid., pp. 78-79.

[3] Unpublished lecture, "The Dominion of Man," p. 5.

The J account does not talk about dominion. Instead, the first man is given the task of naming the animals and birds. [Gen. 2:20] Naming had more significance for the ancient Hebrews than it has for us. Pedersen says, "The soul in its entirety, with all its blessing and honour, finds expression in the name,"[1] and, "One makes a name alive by mentioning it."[2] God formed the animals and birds, but human beings gave them their identity. God put Adam in the Garden of Eden "to till it and keep it." [Gen. 2:15] Bonifazi concludes from this, "Man has responsibility as a caretaker of nature. Nature may be his garden!"[3] Taken together, the two stories show a balanced view of people as having dominion over and being caretakers of the earth.

The Creator has made people little less than God: [Ps. 8:4]

> Thou hast given him dominion over the works of thy hands;
>   thou hast put all things under his feet,
> all sheep and oxen,
>   and also the beasts of the field,
> the birds of the air, and the fish of the sea,
>   whatever passes along the paths of the sea.[4]

The Creator of heaven and earth has given the earth to people to rule over it.

In Biblical times, however, "dominion over the earth" had a limited meaning. In Traces on the Rhodian Shore, Clarence Glacken writes

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[1] P. 245. [2] P. 256.

[3] "The Dominion of Man," p. 5. [4] Ps. 8:6-8.

> Is this idea of dominion anything more than a distillation of everyday observation of the techniques involved in the care of plants--gardening and oasis agriculture, grain growing, horticulture--the ability to kill the wild and subjugate domestic animals--putting the latter to work in the tasks of agriculture, herding or transport, or using their bodies for food or clothing? Is there not here also an assertion of the dignity of man who, made in the image of God, on His sufferance exercises dominion over living things on earth comparable in a small way with God's control of the universe? This power, moreover, is not achieved by, nor is it because of his abilities; he is lord of the creation because his superior place has been given him by God. Man's power as a vice-regent of God on earth is part of the design of the creation and there is in this fully elaborated conception far less room for arrogance and pride than the bare reading of the words would suggest.[1]

It was all right for people to manipulate animals and other natural phenomena. But the Priestly writer never conceived of an industrial era.

Lynn White assumes that, because modern scientific technology grew out of the Biblical dogma of human mastery over nature, Christianity "bears a huge burden of guilt" for sanctioning all its effects.[2] However, scientific technology can be used to carry out God's purpose or to sin.

The entire Biblical conception of dominion can only be completely understood through Jesus Christ as Lord, Dominus. Biblical dominion is, finally, the Lordship of Christ, not rapacity. The essence of his dominion was service. Genuine Christian dominion involves serving the world. Jesus fulfills the mission of the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah [Is. 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13; 53:12] by suffering and dying for the sins of others. He characterizes the lordship, or dominion, of himself and his followers:

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[1] P. 166. [2] P. 399.

> You know that those who are supposed to rule over the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great men exercise authority over them. But it shall not be so among you; but whoever would be great among you must be your servant, and whoever should be first among you must be slave of all. For the Son of man also came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many.[1]

The land really belongs to God. "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof," says Ps. 24:1. We are only squatters. It belongs to God, and he lets people use it. The Biblical concept of land ownership is not so much ownership as responsibility, i.e. usufruct. God gave Hebrews only a conditional title to the land of milk and honey. Tithes are to be given from the land to the Lord, the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow.[2] All things on and in the land are to be given a sabbath rest: Jews, slaves, farm animals. The land itself is given a sabbath year of rest.[3] Land is not handled rightly in the Bible if it is not handled as a loan from God. First Corinthians 4:7 says, "What have you that you did not receive?" God is the landowner. Lev. 25:23 says: "...the land is mine; for you are strangers and sojourners with me." Humanity is the tenant farmer, commissioned to become the global caretaker, given a sacred trust and stewardship.

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[1] Mk. 10:42b-45.

[2] Deut. 26:12.

[3] Lev. 25:1-7.

The Israelites should respect nature even though they have dominion over it.[1] People have the responsibility to till the earth and keep it. [Gen. 2:15.] Thus, they must cooperate with the life of the world of nature to assure, insofar as possible, its continuance. Human dominion has limits: "A righteous man has regard for the life of his beast." [Ps. 12:10.] Israel may not crossbreed cattle [Lev. 19:19; Dt. 22:9-11.] nor destroy the mother with the young in a wild bird's nest. [Dt. 22:6-7.] The land should lie fallow on the seventh year for its own sake and so the poor and the wild beasts can eat. [Ex. 23:10-11.] An ox is not to be muzzled when it treads grain. [Dt. 25:4.] The weekly Sabbath is for the ox and the ass as well as human workers. [Ex. 23:12.]

Consideration is to be given to the continuance of the life of the animals.[2] To take the blood would be to take the soul from the animals and encroach upon their principle of life. The blood is to be given to the holy place and thus returned to life. Only the parts of least importance to the life are then taken. For game the blood need only be poured out and covered with dust. [Lev. 17:13, cf. Dt. 12.] These commandments express the right of the animals to maintain their lives.[3] "Life is to be respected;

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[1] Santmire, pp. 86, 149-50.

[2] Pedersen, p. 483.

[3] Pedersen, pp. 483-84.

it may be curtailed, but not killed."[1]

The human freedom of dominion is a relative freedom.[2] People as stewards work within the restricted role allotted to them by their Lord, who continues to rule.[3]

Humility before God and the Inhabitants of His Creation

The Biblical attitude toward the earth is one of humility before God and the inhabitants of his creation. A distinctive feature of the Bible is its teaching about humility, pride being the essence of sin in attributing to oneself the honor and love that are due to God, as in the stories of Eve, Babel, and the Pharisees. Humility was exemplified in Jesus' washing the disciples' feet and instructing them to refuse titles of honor[4] and positions of privilege,[5] as well as in his birth in a stable and his death on a cross. If the humility that acknowledges our dependence upon nature is overcome by a denial of that dependence or a greedy effort to overcome our insecurity in nature, our legitimate dominion over nature is corrupted into its exploitation. On the one hand we rebel against God, and on the other we commit injustices against people, and the harmony of creation is disturbed by our sin.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 483.

[2] Santmire, p. 147.

[3] Ibid., p. 148.

[4] Mt. 23:8, 10.

[5] Mk. 10:35-45.

The theme of pride and humility runs throughout the Bible. Pride is trying to be like God rather than like a creature. Lynn White, speaks of "orthodox Christian arrogance toward nature,"[2] but humility, not arrogance is essential to Biblical religion. Insofar as Christianity has been arrogant toward nature it is due to sin, the antithesis of Biblical religion. The legitimate dominion given, unearned, to humanity is an occasion for humility, not arrogance.

In the second creation story Adam and Eve were cast out of the Garden of Eden for attempting to be like God rather than obedient creatures. Eve told the serpent that they were not to eat of the fruit of a certain tree on penalty of death, and the serpent said to her, "You will not die. For God knows that when you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God, knowing good and evil."[3] Eve was convinced: "So when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was to be desired to make one wise, she took of its fruit and ate."[4] She was not to eat of the fruit because it would make her "like God." People are supposed to be content to remain finite people. This is what is meant by pride and humility, in this context.

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[1] Reinhold Niebuhr, The Nature and Destiny of Man, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964), 1:179, 190-1.

[2] P. 351. [3] Gen. 2:4b-5. [4] 2:6a.

Another important instance of pride found in the legendary literature of Genesis is the account of the tower of Babel. Some men on a plain in Shinar said to each other, "Come, let us build ourselves a city, and a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a name for ourselves, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth."[1] God came to look at the city and the tower and said: "Behold, they are one people, and they have all one language; and this is only the beginning of what they will do; and nothing that they propose to do will now be impossible for them. Come, let us go down, and there confuse their language, that they may not understand one another's speech."[2] People were trying to make themselves more important than they were. They wanted to make themselves famous. God did not want people to build monuments to their own greatness, and he took steps to prevent them from doing so. God's giving people dominion over the earth did not give them freedom to use the earth's resources (bricks, in this case) in any way they wanted to.

The renewing of the covenant with the faithful remnant occurred at various times throughout Hebrew history. Each time many of the Hebrews would decide in pride that they were getting along well on their own and they no longer needed to worship God or thank him for their well-being.

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[1] Gen. 11:4. [2] 11:6-7.

Then the covenant would be renewed with the faithful remnant. God's covenant is with those who are his obedient, faithful servants, who acknowledge his lordship. They are required to be humble before God, always remembering that they are his creatures.

God warns in Deuteronomy 8:

> Take heed lest you forget the Lord your God, by not keeping his commandments and his ordinances and his statutes, which I command you this day: lest, when you have eaten and are full, and have built goodly houses and live in them, and when your herds and flocks multiply, and your silver and gold is multiplied, then your heart be lifted up, and you forget the Lord your God. . . . Beware lest you say in your heart, 'My power and the might of my hand have gotten me this wealth.' You shall remember the Lord your God, for it is he who gives you power to get wealth; that he may confirm his covenant which he swore to your fathers, as at this day. And if you forget the Lord your God and go after other gods and serve them and worship them, I solemnly warn you this day that you shall surely perish. Like the nations that the Lord makes to perish before you, so shall you perish, because you would not obey the voice of the Lord your God.[1]

God here does not prohibit personal wealth (although there are contrary statements in the New Testament), but he does say, "Do not forget who it comes from," and "Do not let your wealth make you forget to obey my commandments." If people's wealth comes from God, then it is necessary that they live in accord with God's commands, which include the sharing of wealth. Biblical humility demands acknowledgement that God, not one's own might, is the source of one's wealth, and it requires humble obedience to him. Obeying

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[1] Deut. 8:11-14a, 17-20.

God means living in accord with his commandment to love him and his children. Deuteronomy warns that nations that do not obey the voice of God will surely perish.

Although people have dominion over the earth, their position is still a humble one, as in Ps. 100:3: "It is he that made us, and we are his; we are his people, and the sheep of his pasture." God is to be praised for being our Lord and Maker. We belong to him as sheep belong to their shepherd. A sheep is not a lord (dominus) over anything. The Old Testament consistently insists that God is Lord over people. In Psalm 100 God is to be served with gladness and praised for being our Maker and Shepherd. We, accordingly, occupy a humble position:

Ps. 8:3-9 reads:

> When I look at thy heavens, the work of thy fingers,
> the moon and the stars which thou hast established;
> What is man that thou art mindful of him,
> and the son of man that thou dost care for him?
>
> Yet thou hast made him little less than God,
> and dost crown him with glory and honor.
> Thou hast given him dominion over the works of thy hands,
> thou hast put all things under his feet,
> all sheep and oxen,
> and also the beasts of the field,
> the birds of the air, and the fish of the sea,
> whatever passes along the paths of the sea.
>
> O Lord, our Lord,
> how majestic is thy name in all the earth!

God has given people dominion, but they are nevertheless in a humble position, not deserving the glory God has thrust upon them, unearned.[1]

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[1] Glacken, p. 166.

Throughout the Old Testament the proud are condemned and the lowly commended (esp. in Pss. and Wisdom literature). Boasting and the pride which trusts in oneself or other people are constantly contrasted with the true humility which trusts in God alone.[1] The proper attitude is self-abasement and trust in God: [E.g., Ps. 121, 131.]

> "Woe to him who strives with his Maker
>   an earthen vessel with the potter!
> Does the clay say to him who fashions it, 'What are
>   you making'?
>   or 'Your work has no handles'?
> Woe to him who says to a father,
>   "What are you begetting?'
>   or to a woman, 'With what are you in travail?'"
> Thus says the Lord,
>   the Holy One of Israel, and his Maker:
> "Will you question me about my children,
>   or command me concerning the work of my hands?
> I made the earth,
>   and created man upon it;
> it was my hands that stretched out the heavens,
>   and I commanded all to their host.[2]
>
> Thy hands have made and fashioned me;
>   give me understanding that I may learn thy command-
>   ments.[3]
>
> All flesh is grass,
>   and all its beauty is like the flower of the field.
> The grass withers, the flower fades,
>   when the breath of the Lord blows upon it;
>   surely the people is grass.
> The grass withers, the flower fades;
>   but the word of our God will stand for ever.[4]
>
> As a father pities his children,
>   so the Lord pities those who fear him.
> For he knows our frame;
>   he remembers that we are dust.[5]

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[1] E.g., Pss. 118:8-9; 146:3-4. Richardson v. "Pride," p. 176.

[2] Is. 45:9-12. [3] Ps. 119:73. [4] Is. 406:6b-8.

[5] Ps. 103:13-14.

In the story of the manna God commands the people to gather only one day's portion each morning and two days' portion before the Sabbath. [Ex. 16:4-5.] When the Israelites gather more, the next morning it is worm-eaten and foul. [Ex. 16:20.] Israel is not permitted to live in security lest she forget her utter dependence on God. She receives food only day by day from God; she cannot forget her desert situation. Throughout the forty years in the wilderness God's help has the form of daily rations of simple manna.[1]

That the elect people are completely dependent on God is the lesson of the hardships of the wilderness:

> He humbled you and let you hunger and fed you with manna which you did not know, nor did your fathers know; that He might make you know that man does not live by bread alone but that man lives by everything that proceeds out of the mouth of the Lord.[2]

These words convey Israel's utter dependence on God. The miracle of the manna which provided sustenance only from one day to another illustrates that Israel in her spiritual as well as physical existence lives day by day through God's special care alone.[3]

In Dt. 8:2 God tests Israel to find out what is in her heart: "And you shall remember all the way which the Lord your God has led you these forty years in the wilderness, that he might humble you, testing you to know what was

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[1] Ex. 16:35; Mauser, p. 22.

[2] Dt. 8:3.

[3] Mauser, pp. 34-35.

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in your heart, whether you would keep his commandments, or not." Testing is tied together with humbling in 8:2 and 16. Israel's proper response to God's election is humility, not pride; Israel does not deserve to be chosen because she is bigger [Dt. 7:7.] or better [Dt. 9:4.] than other peoples. And in the light of election Israel must recognize her own sinfulness. [9:7.] To that end Deuteronomy repeats the story of the golden calf.[1]

Deuteronomy insists that Israel must always remember the lessons learned from her wilderness experience: that God chose, guided, and sustained his people in an act of free grace; that Israel is utterly dependent on this continued act of grace; and that Israel recognize her sinfulness.[2]

In the New Testament the lowliness of the incarnate Son of God is anticipated in Mary's Song, the Magnificat. [Lk. 1:46-55.] Jesus condemns pride of race [Lk. 3:8; Mt. 8:10-12; Lk. 10:33.] and the spiritual pride of the Pharisees, which results in ostentation, [Mt. 6:5; 23:5; Lk. 18:9-14.] and social pride. [Mt. 23:6-7; Lk. 14:7-11.] He lifts up the humility of children and instructs his disciples to refuse titles of honor [Mt. 23:8-10.] and positions of privilege. [Mk. 10:35-45.] Jesus washes his disciples' feet, as none of the disciples is willing to lower himself before this servant's task.[1]

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[1] Dt. 9:8-21, repeated from Ex. 32. Mauser, p. 35.

[2] Mauser, p. 36.

According to the doctrine of Incarnation, God reigns over the world by assuming it. In the New Testament the person and work of Jesus are central in the understanding of the human situation in respect to God and the world. Jesus' authority and dominion grow out of his availability and service to people, expressed in compassion, which qualifies his "dominion over all the earth." He took into himself the miserable condition of his contemporaries, and people drew strength and hope from him.[2] This sympathy constitutes his "lordship" over creation. Jesus' dominion is humble, "lording it" over none.[3]

Paul perceives that in the incarnation he who was in the form of God emptied and humbled himself,[4] and he who was rich became poor.[5] Divine humility is revealed in Jesus' birth in a stable, his life as a working man in Nazareth, and his death on a cross. Paul warns us against spiritual pride;[6] neither Jew nor Gentile has grounds for boasting[7] except of the cross of Jesus Christ.

Reinhold Niebuhr points out how exploitation of nature is based on greed:

> Sometimes this lust for power expresses itself in terms of man's conquest of nature, in which the legi-

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[1] Jn. 13; Richardson, v. "Pride," p. 176.

[2] Bonifazi, This Little Planet, p. 226.

[3] Ibid., p. 227. [4] Phil. 2:6-8. [5] 2 Cor. 8:9.

[6] E.g. 1 Cor. 4:6-7. [7] Rom. 2-3.

> timate freedom and mastery of man in the world of nature[1] is corrupted into a mere exploitation of nature. Man's sense of dependence upon nature and his reverent gratitude toward the miracle of nature's perennial abundance is destroyed by his arrogant sense of independence and his greedy effort to overcome the insecurity of nature's rhythms and seasons by garnering her stores with excessive zeal and beyond natural requirements. Greed is in short the expression of man's inordinate ambition to hide his insecurity in nature. It is perfectly described in Jesus' parable of the rich fool who assures himself: "Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry." Significantly this false security is shattered by the prospect of death, a vicissitude of nature which greed cannot master. God said to the rich fool, "This night thy soul shall be required of thee" [Luke 12:19-20].
>
> Greed as a form of the will-to-power has been a particularly flagrant sin in the modern era because modern technology has tempted contemporary man to overestimate the possibility and the value of eliminating his insecurity in nature. Greed has thus become the besetting sin of a bourgeois culture. This culture is constantly tempted to regard physical comfort and security as life's final good and to hope for its attainment to a degree which is beyond human possibilities. "Modern man," said a cynical doctor, "has forgotten that nature intends to kill man and will succeed in the end."[2]

Niebuhr's perception of human nature reveals greed as the sin which underlies the corrupt exploitation of nature. And the exploitation of nature is indeed based on sin, not upon the legitimate but limited dominion given to people in the Biblical tradition. It is a matter of trying to be arrogantly independent of nature rather than merely managing it for one's well being. People try to have more things and security than they can realistically expect the world to provide. They never have enough. In a non-technological or a non-monetary society, one cannot store up what will be needed for longer than a year because food cannot be expected to keep longer than that. People are necessarily dependent upon nature and neighbors and can provide for themselves only short-term security. According to Niebuhr's analysis, it is not Biblical religion but its antithesis, sin, which causes environmental devastation.

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[1] The dominion of Gen. 1:26.

[2] The Nature and Destiny of Man, 1:190-91.

Niebuhr argues that a uniquely Biblical doctrine is that sin has its source not in temporality but in people's willful, prideful refusal to acknowledge the finite and determinate, therefore humble, character of their existence:[1]

> It is not the contradiction of finiteness and freedom from which Biblical religion seeks emancipation. It seeks redemption from sin; and the sin from which it seeks redemption is occasioned, though not caused, by this contradiction because, according to Biblical faith, there is no absolute necessity that man should be betrayed into sin by the ambiguity of his position, as standing in and yet above nature. But it cannot be denied that this is the occasion for his sin.[2]

People are insecure and, like the animals, involved in the necessities and contingencies of nature; but unlike the animals they are transcendent over nature, seeing their situation and anticipating its perils. They seek to protect themselves against the insecurity of nature's contingencies by a will-to-power; but they cannot do so without overreaching the limits which have been set for human creatureliness. Therefore they are involved in the sin of seeking security at the expense of other life.[1]

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[1] Ibid., 1:177. [2] Ibid., 1:178.

People are limited by finite minds; but they pretend that they can transcend finite limitations until their minds become identical with universal mind. Their intellectual endeavors, therefore, become tainted with the sin of pride. People's pride and will-to-power disturb the harmony of creation. The Bible defines sin in both religious and moral terms. The religious aspect of sin is people's rebellion against God, their effort to usurp the place of God. The moral and social dimension of sin is injustice, occasioned by subordinating other lives to one's own will, falsely made the center of existence in its pride and will-to-power.[2]

Love for God and Our Fellow Human Beings

A different kind of Biblical grounding for an attitude toward the earth is derived from a principle of love. Jesus commanded love in the totality of one's being as a response to the prior love of God,[3] who himself is love.[4]

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[1] Ibid., 1:181-82. See also G. Ernest Wright and Reginald H. Fuller, The Book of the Acts of God, Anchor Books (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1960), pp. 56-57. "He has used the freedom that God has given him for the purpose of ruling over the earthly creation in order to assert his independence of God and to become like God. . . . His assertion of independence is actually his separation from the source of all life and all blessing."

[2] Reinhold Niebuhr, 1:178-79.

[3] Mk. 12:29-31. [4] 1 Jn. 4:8, 16.

Because God loves people he is concerned for their physical and spiritual welfare, both of which depend upon having an earth-home in such a condition as to be conducive to adequate human physical and spiritual welfare.

God loves people because he is love. The love commanded by Jesus in the two great commandments[1] is the response of people in the totality of their being to the prior love of God. Loving God is connected with obeying him: "If you love me, you will keep my commandments."[2] Love to people is dependent on love to God, and love to God is proved by love to people:[3]

> Beloved, let us love one another; for love is of God, and he who loves is born of God and knows God. He who does not love does not know God; for God is love. In this the love of God was made manifest among us, that God sent his only Son into the world, so that we might live through him. In this is love, not that we loved God but that he loved us and sent his Son to be the expiation for our sins. Beloved, if God so loved us, we also ought to love one another. No man has ever seen God; if we love one another, God abides in us and his love is perfected in us. . . . So we know and believe the love God has for us. God is love, and he who abides in love abides in God, and God abides in him. . . . We love, because he first loved us. If any one says, "I love God," and hates his brother, he is a liar; for he who does not love his brother whom he has seen, cannot love God whom he has not seen. And this commandment we have from him, that he who loves God should love his brother also. Every one who believes that Jesus is the Christ is a child of God, and every one who loves the parent loves the child. By this we know that we love the children of God,

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[1] Mk. 12:29-31, from Dt. 6:4-5.

[2] Jn. 14:15. See also Ex. 20:6; Dt. 5:10; 7:9; 10:12-13; 11:1; I Kings 3:3; Dan. 9:4; Neh. 1:5; 1 Jn. 5:3.

[3] Jn. 4:20-21. Richardson, v. "Love," p. 135.

> when we love God and obey his commandments. And his commandments are not burdensome.[1]

The summary of all the commandments is, "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind; and your neighbor as yourself." [Lk. 10:2, 7.] In the Bible as a whole love is the dominant ethical value, above dominion and any other value. In interpreting any Biblical motif, it is important that no element of the interpretation be inconsistent with the central theme of love. Love for one's neighbors, the meaning of which Jesus extended to include everyone, precludes robbing them of physical or spiritual well-being. If people love their neighbors, they will not make the air unfit for them to breathe nor the water unfit for them to drink nor allow poisonous residues to accumulate in their food nor make their world so ugly that their spirituality is maimed.

The second part of the great commandment, after loving God with your whole being, is, "You shall love your neighbor as yourself." [Lk. 10:27.] That "neighbor" includes people who are different, as the Samaritans were different from the Jews. Jesus gave a definition of a neighbor in the Parable of the Good Samaritan.[2] The neighbor was the person who helped the person in need. The story was followed by, "Go and do likewise." [Lk. 10:37.] The New Testament ethic of neighborliness is that one is supposed to be a neighbor to anyone who needs help. The only connection between the Samaritan and the man who was beaten was that the Samaritan happened to see him as he was passing along.[1] Being a neighbor is caring about everyone whom one might possibly affect and taking responsibility for them. It is loving them as oneself. When the second great commandment says, "You shall love your neighbor as yourself," it means everyone with whom one has any kind of contact, however remote.

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[1] 1 Jn. 4:7-12, 16, 19-21; 5:1-3.

[2] Lk. 10:30-37.

Awe about the Sacredness of Creation and the Magnificence of the Creator

The Biblical attitude toward the earth is one of awe about the sacredness of creation and the magnificence of the Creator. H. Richard Niebuhr and Rudolph Otto affirm the Biblical assertion of these attitudes.

H. Richard Niebuhr's affirmation has been mentioned earlier, that radical monotheism secularizes all the sacred objects of polytheism and henotheism. God alone is holy. No special places, times, persons, or communities are more representative than others of him in whom all things live and move and have their being.[2]

The counterpart of this secularization, however, is the sanctification of all things: every day, every nation, every person, every living thing is holy. The whole earth and all of space are filled with his glory.[1] This, then, is the basis of transformed religion, founded on the realization that every being is holy.[2]

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[1] The concept of the neighbor must now, of course, be extended in correlation with the modern extension of our influence or outreach.

[2] Richard Niebuhr, p. 52.

Genuinely radical monotheism has affirmed all being, finding holiness in humankind, but also in nature and in what is beyond nature.[3] The consequence of faith in the monotheistic God is the love of all being in him. However, faith is never so complete that this ideal is perfectly realized. But its required goal is: "that all beings, not only our friends but also our enemies, not only men but also animals and the inanimate, be met with reverence, for all are friends in the friendship of the one to whom we are reconciled in faith."[4]

In The Idea of the Holy, Rudolf Otto discusses chapters 38-41 of Job as displaying the element of the mysterious.[5] Job has been reasoning with his friends against God, who then appears to conduct his own defense so effectively that Job is convinced.[6] He confesses: "Therefore

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid., p. 53. [3] Ibid., p. 89.

[4] Ibid., p. 126.

[5] The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational, trans. John W. Harvey, 2nd ed. (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 77-80.

[6] Ibid., pp. 77-78.

I abhor myself and repent in dust and ashes."[1] These chapters aim at putting forward a theodicy able to convict Job and to still all his inward doubts. God's words contain a summons to Job and the demonstration of God's overwhelming power, sublimity, greatness, and wisdom. This would yield a rational solution of the problem if the argument were here completed with the assertion that Job is not able to comprehend the rational plan that is only comprehensible to God.[2] But the argument relies instead, Otto says, on the sheer wondrousness that transcends thought, the mysterium in its pure, non-rational form. The ostrich,[3] who acts irrationally, not caring what happens to her eggs, and the eagle[4] are not evidence for teleological wisdom, but are rather creatures of strangeness and marvel, in whom is apparent the wondrousness of the Creator. The wild ass,[5] the wild ox,[6] the wild goat[7] and the hind[8] also display a negation of purposiveness, which has a baffling significance.[9] The "wisdom" of the clouds,[10] and the star constellations emphasize the same lesson.[11] The descriptions of the behemoth and leviathan in Job 40:15-41:34 may be a later interpolation, but these monsters are just the mysterious in a gross form. All the animals and the whole sense of the entire passage express the wholly incomprehensible character of the eternal creative power, which is "wholly other" and inconceivable, but fascinating. That the _mysterium_ is not only mysterious, but also fascinating and august is not shown in explicit concepts, but in the tone of the entire exposition. The _mysterium_ as such would merely be a part of the "absolute inconceivability" of the numen, and that could not convict Job inwardly. But what is expressed here is rather an intrinsic value in the incomprehensible, not assimilated to rational human teleology. As the _mysterium_ becomes felt in consciousness God is justified and Job's soul is brought to peace.[1] But, to counterbalance Otto's arguments for the numinous in Israelite religion, it should be restated that nature contributes widely and importantly to revelation. Through nature are known the mystery, but also the majesty and wisdom of God's ways which raise him above people, yet serve his revelation of himself.[2]

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[1] Job. 42:6. [2] Otto, p. 78. [3] Job 19:13-18.
[4] Job 39:27-30. [5] Job 39:5-8. [6] Job 39:9-12.
[7] Job 39:1-4. [8] Ibid. [9] Otto, p. 79. [10] Job 28:26.
[11] Otto, pp. 79-80.

Summary

In this chapter on the Biblical view of the human relationship to nature we have seen that God created everything and gave human beings dominion over the earth.[3] This dominion is limited in terms of Biblical views about the natural world and about the meaning of "dominion" itself.

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[1] Ibid., p. 80.

[2] See Robinson, p. 8.

[3] Gen. 1:26, 28.

The earth, which is alive, is holy because God created it. The earth is holy because God continues to care for it and its inhabitants. And it is holy because God considers the world worthy of redemption. In these days the earth, his creation, points in its existence toward God.

The earth as a whole is valuable, but Biblical attitudes about the wilderness, the unsown part of the earth, are ambiguous. On the one hand, wilderness is the realm of the curse, demons, and death. On the other hand wilderness provides habitat for animals, joins people in praising God, provides potential spiritual experiences for people, including the formative events of the Israelite faith, and is a possible theme for the interpretation of Christ's ministry.

The Bible does not advocate a peculiarly destructive view of land ownership or exploitation. Judaeo-Christianity did not initiate the concept of private ownership of land but accepted it from Gentile cultures. The Israelites and early Christians do not appear to have treated the land any more adversely than other peoples of similar time and place. In fact, the Israelites were required to treat the land respectfully.

Human dominion over the natural world is tempered by the Biblical attitudes of stewardship and care, not exploitation, humility before God and the inhabitants of his creation, love for God and our fellow human beings, and awe towards the sacredness of creation and the magnificence of the Creator.

CHAPTER III

COMPARISON AND CONTRAST

In this chapter "native American" or "Indian" means those tribes or culture areas discussed in Chapter I, that is, the Plains Indians, especially the Cheyennes and Sioux, and the Pueblo Indians, especially the Hopi.

Differences

The differences between the Biblical and native American traditions derive from the origin of the sacredness of all things. It is the difference between monotheism and quasi-pantheistic nature-religiousness. In the case of the Bible all things are created by God and are therefore sacred, but all things are also secular because they are not intrinsically spiritual and are under human dominion. In contrast, in the native American tradition all things are sacred because they are intrinsically spiritual and because they are related to everything else in the whole of being. In the Biblical tradition prayer is addressed only to God, never to the objects of his creation, while in the Indian tradition prayers may be addressed to such things as the spiritual essence of a plant being gathered for medicine[1] or

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[1] Black Elk, Black Elk Speaks, pp. 201-2.

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a buffalo skull fetish.[1] The Hopi may offer prayer-feathers to nearly anything. Buffalo on the Plains and corn in the Southwest are particularly holy.

A second difference is that for Indians nature demands constant action by people in ceremonies, whereas in Biblical thought nature demands the continuous action of God. Pueblo and Plains Indians try to manipulate nature through magic and ceremonies. They appeal to the spirits because spirits have the higher power, although people and nature interact as an ongoing process. It is a reciprocal relationship demanding ceremonial action by people, whereas the Biblical relationship is more of a dependence on God to keep nature operating harmoniously.

These native American tribes try through ceremonies to keep nature harmonious. Ceremonialism is a manifestation of the essentially mystical relationship between humans and spiritual forces in nature. In some cases ceremonies are necessary in order to initiate an event in nature. Some of the rituals carry a compulsive effect. Ceremonies have some elements of mechanism in that every element must be properly performed in order to obtain the desired results.

In contrast to native American attempts to manipulate nature with magic and ceremonies, Biblical people make little religious attempt to manipulate nature. Rather, they try to maintain the blessing that spills over to the land.

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[1] Grinnell, 2:103-4.

Generally, God knows and does what is best. However, exploitation is forbidden, or the curse brought on by God's wrath may replace the blessing.

For the Hebrews the unity of nature rests on God's continuous activity in it.[1] God's creation is linked to his continuing care. People, animals, and all of nature are continuously dependent on him for their individual creation and maintenance. God himself is the unifying center for the living natural order. The regularities, or "ordinances," of nature are the manifestations of God's covenant with the natural order, and they do not limit him as would scientific or natural laws.[2] Thus, God keeps nature harmonious--as long as the blessing is maintained. Rituals are not required to initiate the regularities of nature.

In Pueblo and Plains religions to some extent ritual controls the gods and their activities. However, in Israel's religion God continuously controls nature, and ritual is sublimated to his worship.[3]

A third difference is that according to Indian thought humans are subordinate to the forces of nature (until they gain power), whereas in Biblical thought nature and humans are subject to God, although humans also have dominion over nature as God's stewards.

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[1] Rust, pp. 66-67.

[2] Jer. 33:25; Rust, p. 70; Robinson, p. 24.

[3] Robinson, p. 25.

In the Plains and Pueblo traditions the spirits hold the highest place and human beings generally the lowest place in the hierarchies of power for controlling natural phenomena. The Sioux believe that because of their prior creation and divine origin animals have a certain proximity to Wakan-Tanka that requires respect and veneration. In them can be seen reflections of the qualities of the Great Spirit (Wakan-Tanka). They are intermediaries between people and Wakan-Tanka. Religious devotions may be directed to the Great Spirit through animals, and contact with or from him comes almost exclusively through visions involving animal or other natural forms.[1]

In these native American traditions attempts to gain the spirits' pity are a human response to their lower position than other beings in regard to power over natural phenomena. Because the spirits hold the highest place and people a lower place in the hierarchy of power, pity is part of the vision quest. These attempts to appear pitiable are made in order to achieve power to get what the person needs.

Among native Americans power over nature comes through dreams, visions, and ritualized observances. Personal power influences nature as mechanical or scientific technology does in contemporary American culture.

The guardian spirit, commonly sought on the Plains, endows the recipient with power over nature, which can be used for his own benefit or the benefit of those around him. The power depends on the characteristics of the animal of that person's vision.

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[1] Brown, p. 17.

Among the Pueblos the spirits of the kachinas manifested in the dancers constitute a group mystical experience with its own power that ensures that the whole balance of nature will be continued.

In the Biblical tradition nature is subject to God in its creation, his continuous activity in it, and its redemption. People are likewise formed by God in the womb, are upheld by him, and die when he withdraws the breath he gave them. Land and people are a unity in their shared dependence on God as their Creator, Upholder, and future Transformer.[1]

In the P account[2] people are given dominion, as God's stewards, to care for the world that God has provided. In the J account[3] people are caretakers of the world. However, Adam's naming the animals in this account signifies human dominion over them. The Creator has made people little less than God.[4] Nevertheless, they are in a humble position, not deserving the glory God has thrust upon them, unearned.[5] God is still Lord over people as a shepherd is lord over the sheep.[6]

A fourth difference between the two traditions is

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[1] Robinson, p. 32. [2] Gen. 1:1-2:4a. [3] Gen. 2:4b-3:24.

[4] Ps. 8:4. [5] Glacken, p. 166. [6] Ps. 100:3.

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that for native Americans knowledge comes through mysticism, while in the Biblical tradition knowledge comes largely through secondary sources. Among native Americans contact with the supernatural comes through visions and ceremonies. Prayer, of course, is also a form of contact or communication. On the Plains the emphasis is on the sought vision,[1] which validates the reality of the spirits in earthly form as animals. The guardian-spirit formulation is a very important part of the vision experience, but visions are also sought frequently without a guardian-spirit intermediary.[2] In the Southwest the vision quest takes a group ritual form and shows the reality of the kachina spirits in the kachina dancers. In either case the purpose is to achieve a mystical communication with the spirits that brings those spiritual forces to bear on daily life. The universally recognized religious fact in North America is not a secondary explanation but a mystical experience validated by a religious thrill.[3]

Contact with God in the Bible, in contrast, is less mystical. In New Testament times contact with God comes largely through prayer to a God who is always present. In the Old Testament the Hebrew people depend extensively on temples, rituals, and community gatherings. Mystical experiences, visions, or theophanies sometimes occur in the Bible, but these do not have to be sought in order to have contact with God. Once Scripture was written or even handed down, knowledge of God came largely through this secondary experience.

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[1] Benedict, p. 26. [2] Ibid., p. 29. [3] Ibid., p. 43.

Similarities

One similarity is that both societies are tribal in nature. The individual is less important than the group.

For native Americans the importance of the individual is to the welfare of the group. The individual is dependent on the group for his relationship with nature, which is a reciprocal relationship between people and the forces of nature. People are able to generate or balance forces of nature through group ceremony and the vision quest, which benefits the group even though it is performed by individuals. The hoop of the nation is broken when everybody has his or her own rules.

In Biblical thought the individual is a link in the family as extending through the generations.[1] The soul of the people and the soul of the family both belong to the individual, whose experiences in turn act on the fathers.[2]

A second similarity is that both societies have ways of relating the group to the land.

The Israelites' living together with the land is what gives it its character as the land of people. The landed property of the family belongs to the psychic totality of the family and is imbued with the blessing of the family.[1] Canaan is the land of the fathers.[2] It is fused with and part of the soul of the Israelites. The blessing of the land and the blessing of the Israelites are the same thing.[3] The relation between the earth and its owner is a covenant-relation, a psychic community. The earth's own nature demands respect and must not be ill-treated.[4] The people must tend the blessing of the land, receiving it into their own soul. If they violate its nature, it revolts and becomes a wilderness.[5]

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[1] Pedersen, p. 474. [2] Ibid., p. 475.

People as a whole are related to the land in terms of exercising dominion over it and stewardship for it. Stewardship expresses both the freedom and the responsibility (to God) of humanity toward the earth. The Israelites should respect nature even though they have dominion over it.[6] People have the responsibility to till the earth and keep it.[7] Thus, they must cooperate with the life of the world of nature to assure, insofar as possible, its continuance. The human freedom of dominion is a relative freedom.[8] People as stewards work within the restricted role allotted to them by their Lord, who continues to rule.[9]

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[1] Ibid., p. 474.

[2] Gen. 48:21; 50:24; Dt. 1:8; 6:23; 31:20-21.

[3] Pedersen, p. 476. [4] Ibid., p. 479.

[5] Ibid., p. 480. [6] Santmire, pp. 86, 149-50.

[7] Gen. 2:15. [8] Santmire, p. 147. [9] Ibid., p. 148.

Indian societies relate the group to the land partly in the sense of kinship. The land itself is a mother. Other aspects of the landscape have other kinship relationships. Even if they are not spoken of in kinship terms, aspects of the natural environment are personal and manifest the spirits of nature.

Both the Hebrews and the Hopi consider themselves a chosen people with a God-given homeland. The New Testament Christians consider themselves the heirs of Israel and thus participants in Israel's election. The Cheyennes and Sioux do not consider themselves a chosen people in the same way, although the Cheyenne name for themselves means "the human beings," indicating exclusivism.

Both the Hebrews and the Hopi became chosen people through a covenant with their God. The Hebrews promised to obey the commandments of the God who delivered them from slavery in Egypt, and God promised that they would be "his own possession"[1] and would possess the land of Canaan. The Hopi made a sacred oath with Masauwü, pledging to follow his humble life plan and to live with him in righteousness on his land.[2]

Both traditions have sacred places necessary for tribal identification. The Israelites call Canaan the land of the fathers.[1] The life of the whole people is connected with the "land of inheritance," which the Lord has given them[2] and to which history entitles them.[3] The country forms part of the soul of the people.[4]

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[1] Ex. 19:5.

[2] "When They Have Eyes," pp. 35, 38-39.

In the Plains and Pueblo traditions the land in general provides tribal identity, and the Hopi homeland is believed to be the spiritual center of the hemisphere, but also there are specific sacred places. Black Mesa and the San Francisco peaks are particularly sacred to the Hopi. According to Pueblo belief mountains or mesas apparently have power. They are the homes of supernaturals and great shrines or sanctuaries. They are perhaps themselves supernaturals, at least the four sacred mountains of the directions.[5] Pueblo shrines may be any place visited habitually to pray and make offerings.[6] The people of Taos believe spirits live under their sacred Blue Lake. The Cheyennes have sacred sites, especially Nowah´wus or Bear Butte.[7] The Black Hills are sacred to the Sioux.

Every tribe has sacred areas. These sources of spiritual power are an essential part of their tribal identification. Places are the habitat of spirits. Power is tied in with place.

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[1] Gen. 48:21; 50:24; Dt. 1:8; 6:23; 31:20-21.

[2] Lev. 25:23. [3] Pedersen, p. 474. [4] Ibid., p. 476.

[5] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, 1:214.

[6] Ibid., 1:307. [7] Powell, pp. 18-19, 427.

The land and the people are closely interrelated in both traditions. Among the Plains Indians the soil of the Earth itself is beloved for its life-giving forces and because it is partly the flesh, blood, and bones of the tribal ancestors.

In both traditions people have the use of the land but not absolute private ownership. The Israelites more nearly approach absolute private ownership, although the land really belongs to God.[1] God gave the Israelites only a conditional title to it.

A third similarity is that both societies share a sense of stewardship of the physical resources of nature--Christians and Hebrews because the resources are God's, Indians because the spirits provide if the relationships are harmonious.

Native Americans may pray to the spiritual essence of a natural object in order to explain that only as much of that object as is necessary is being gathered for an appropriate need, such as plants for medicinal purposes. Because everything is related to on a personal or spiritual basis there is an attitude of stewardship and respect rather than unnecessary destruction. Because of the understanding of the interrelationship of all things in the whole of being, it is understood that what affects one aspect of the whole of being affects all other parts.

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[1] Ps. 24:1; Lev. 25:23.

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In the interrelationship of animals, people, and all other spiritual beings in the whole of being, game animals are there to benefit human beings, but they are free to present themselves or not, as they desire. They must be rendered willing to be caught through offerings and a proper relationship, which respects the animals.[1]

On the Plains the animals may be caused to present themselves through the power and songs of the vision seeker who has communicated with the animal spirit or through the power of a shaman.[2] In order to render the game animals well disposed, Pueblo Indians give various offerings or prayers to the slain or to-be-slain animals, asking them to allow themselves or their children to be caught.

The Dakota believe that the animal guardian is the supernatural representative for an animal species, who protects the animals of its species, causes them to become or not to become game for the hunter, assures that the animals are treated ritually so they can be given new life, and avenges wrongs done to them.[3] The Pueblos do not recognize a guardian of the species but have a general conception of the animal as a type and representative for its species, and the general notion of propitiating the soul of the slain game or its living kin.[1]

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[1] Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, p. 482.

[2] Walker, p. 92.

[3] Hultkrantz, Conceptions of the Soul, p. 408.

Both the people of the Bible and the Indians worship the God or gods of nature. God's kingship is based on his having created the world and on his constant support of it. He reveals himself both in nature and in history. Nature is the creation and manifestation of deity. The Indian religions examined in this dissertation are religions many of whose deities are aspects of the natural world.

The native American religions are nature religions. They are about the interpretation of the natural world, making contact with the spirits of nature, manipulating them in some cases, securing power from them, and maintaining harmony among the parts of nature and between people and the spirits of nature.

Although Indians do have a sense of stewardship of the physical resources of nature, it is in the sense of maintaining the proper relationship with the spirits. The idea of limitation of natural resources is not present, only that the spirits would be angry if treated in a disrespectful manner.

Although there is considerable evidence that Indians wasted buffalo and other game by mass-kill techniques, some writers give evidence that Indians did not waste buffalo. There were both psychological and practical reasons for slaughtering an entire herd.

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[1] Ibid., p. 508.

Nature as such is not "managed" but rather dealt with on personal terms because it is a vast living interrelationship, which includes spirits and people. Indian stewardship of the physical resources of nature might be thought of in terms of trying to maintain a proper balance through personal, spiritual means. Physical conservation was practiced when practical, but harmonious relationships with the spirits were the most important aspect of their sense of stewardship.

The Biblical attitude toward the earth is one of stewardship and care, not exploitation, in the exercise of dominion over God's holy earth and its creatures. The theme of stewardship is deeply rooted Biblically. It expresses both the freedom and the responsibility (to God) of humanity toward the earth.

"Dominion over the earth" means responsibility. The context suggests that this responsibility is to maintain the perfection of creation, which God has pronounced good. People are the surrogates of God, and they exercise dominion authentically only as a gift originating from God. The dominion assigned people is limited by the affirmation of the goodness of nature.[1]

Dominion over the earth is not alienation from nature. Dominion relates people positively to nature, involving them in it. People over nature are responsible people under God. Dominion sanctions the use of nature to serve the goal of goodness but prohibits exploitation. Exploitation is trying to be arrogantly independent of nature rather than merely managing it for one's well-being as is legitimately allowed with the concept of dominion. People are God's representatives on earth, charged with maintaining harmony while participating in it. Pollution, and thus the destruction of creation, results from people's disobedience, not from their dominion.[1]

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[1] Trible, p. 77.

Taken together, the P and J creation stories show a balanced view of people as having dominion over and being caretakers of the earth. In Biblical times "dominion over the earth" had a limited meaning.

People's power as viceregents of God on earth is part of the design of the creation and is not a cause for arrogance and pride because their superior place has been given them by God. This power is not achieved by or because of people's abilities.[2] Biblical dominion is, finally, the Lordship of Christ, the essence of whose dominion was service.[3]

The human freedom of dominion is a relative freedom.[4] If used rightly, it is a freedom to uphold but not to destroy the good earth God has created. People as stewards work within the restricted role allotted to them by their Lord, who continues to rule.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 78-79. [2] Glacken, p. 166.

[3] Mk. 10:42-45. [4] Santmire, p. 147.

A fourth similarity is that both societies can influence God or the spirits and the well-being of nature. Plains and Pueblo Indians believe that creation is a living, harmonious, dynamic unity composed of interrelated parts,[2] in which people participate. The Indian is part of an ordered, balanced, and living whole, of which all parts are related to one another by their participation in the whole of being.[3] In the Biblical tradition, also, the harmony of the natural world depends on people's participation, but in a different sense.

Native Americans believe they generate or balance forces of nature by means of ceremonies or mystical experiences. People and nature are complementary forces, even while spirits have higher power. But there must be proper balance and relationship.

The native American world view is an essentially mystical relationship between humans and spiritual forces. Influence over natural phenomena can be achieved by human beings by means of ritualized observances or mystical experiences. In some cases in order for things to happen people must perform certain actions to initiate the occurrence in nature. Without the ceremonial the things would not happen. It takes the ceremonial to bring about balance and harmony because people and nature are complementary. Both Pueblo and Plains Indians pray and have ceremonies for the continued well-being of nature.

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[1] Ibid., p. 148. [2] Powell, 2:443. [3] Allen, p. 148.

The Hopi pursue their role as guardians of all the land by performing ceremonies that will ensure that nature will work in balance with people. Pueblo religion is a means of controlling the natural through the supernatural. The method is largely magical in that ritual acts, correctly performed, and offerings, if accepted, effect the desired results.

In the Bible the well-being of nature before God is dependent on the moral life of humanity.[1] The judgment on people for their sin spills over on to nature because of the human solidarity with nature.[2] Because of its inherent sympathy with humanity nature suffers innocently under the divine curse on sinful humanity. This is true in Genesis 3 and in similar curses elsewhere.[3]

As subjects created to obey God in personal freedom, people are confronted with the blessing if they obey God's commands or the curse if they disobey.[4] Because they are so closely related to nature, it is also affected. When Israel obeys, the land is prosperous,[5] reflecting God's blessing.

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[1] Robinson, p. 30. [2] Santmire, p. 192.

[3] Dt. 28, the curse of the ground for Cain's sake, cf. Job 19:21; Hos. 13:14; Santmire, pp. 192-93.

[4] Dt. 30:26-28; cf. Gen. 2:15-17.

[5] Ps. 73:2; 65:10-14.

When Israel sins, God pours out his curse,[1] which spills over on to nature.[2] God curses the ground because of Adam's sin[3] and again at the time of the flood.[4] Conversely, the sympathy of a shared life between land and people will some day bring a removal of the effects of the curse on nature.[5]

A fifth similarity is that the world is basically good, holy, alive, and harmonious for both religious traditions. God is benevolent, Mother Earth beneficent. Both religious traditions are oriented toward life in this world; that is, they have a positive valuation of this life.

The Old Testament has little concern for an afterlife and is primarily oriented toward this life, individually and as carried on through the family and nation. The New Testament looks forward to the resurrection but does not negate this life. Rom. 1:20 indicates a positive orientation by Paul toward this world in his belief that the natural world clearly shows its Creator's eternal power and deity. The Psalms dwell on the beauty of nature. God created, sustains, and will redeem a good and harmonious--if less than perfect--world. The Creator is a God of love, disposed to promote the happiness of his children.

For the Cheyenne and Hopi Indians creation is a living, harmonious, dynamic unity, generally friendly, basically good. The Cheyenne deities offer the Cheyennes abundant supernatural might and wisdom for their life.[1] The Hopi see nature as essentially benevolent. Their ceremonies are essentially for maintaining harmony. Their spirits are on the whole well managed. The Earth is essentially productive of good or benefit. Both the Plains and Pueblo Indians are positively oriented toward this life in a basically good world.

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[1] Dan. 9:11. [2] Is. 24:5-6a. [3] Gen. 3:17.

[4] Gen. 8:21; Santmire, pp. 193-94.

[5] Robinson, p. 32.

Both the native American and Biblical traditions do, however, recognize evil spirits, although in both cases they are less prominent than the goodness that prevails in the natural world.

It is distinctive of Indian religions that everything in nature is thought to be alive. The same is true of Biblical religion, in which natural objects are thought to have a psychical life. The external world is capable of fellow feeling with humanity and of obedience to its sustaining force.[2] Land and people are united in a covenant relationship, in which the land shares in people's blessing or curse and responds to good or bad treatment. The belief in the animation of nature is generally held in North America, but what we call inanimate natural objects are less frequently considered to possess souls than plants are, and plants less frequently than animals.[3] In both traditions all creation sends a voice to God or joins in praising God. Both traditions agree that animals have souls, and both respect the life of the animals.

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[1] Powell, 2:442-43. [2] Pedersen, p. 479.

[3] Hultkrantz, Conceptions of the Soul, pp. 493-95.

Conclusion

In summary, the differences between the two traditions derive from the origin of the sacredness of all things. In the Biblical tradition all things are sacred because they are created by God. They are also secular because they are not spiritual in themselves and because they are under human dominion. In the native American tradition all things are sacred because they are intrinsically spiritual and because they participate in the whole of being. For Indians nature demands constant action by people in ceremonies, whereas in Biblical thought nature demands the continuous action of God. According to Indian thought humans are subordinate to the forces of nature (until they gain power), whereas in Biblical thought nature and humans are subject to God, although humans also have dominion over nature as God's stewards. For native Americans knowledge comes through mysticism, while in the Biblical tradition knowledge comes largely through secondary sources.

There are also similarities between the two traditions. Both societies are tribal in nature; the individual is less important than the group. Both societies have ways of relating the group to the land. Both societies share a sense of stewardship of the physical resources of nature--

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Christians and Hebrews because the resources are God's, Indians because the spirits provide if the relationships are harmonious. Both societies can influence God or the spirits and the well-being of nature. Both societies believe that the world is basically good, holy, alive, and harmonious.

As would be expected, there are both similarities and differences between the two traditions, the differences being primarily due to all things having been created by one God in the one tradition, and to all things having their own spirituality within the whole of being in the other tradition.

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